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L FLORENCE ✓

ITS HISTORY—THE MEDICI—THE HUMANISTS  
LETTERS—ARTS

BY  
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NEW EDITION, REVISED AND COMPARED WITH THE LATEST  
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# FLORENCE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

ITALY in the thirteenth century carried on and brought to its crowning point the work of civilization which France in the twelfth century had started by means of the crusades, the establishment of communal franchises, and the foundation of the University of Paris. The symbol created by the genius of Lucretius, where the successive labor of generations is represented by running-men passing their torches from hand to hand, had never been realized with so much grandeur; the sacred torches had fallen from French hands, and had been picked up by Italy, in whose grasp they emitted a light which dazzled the whole world.

Rome, notwithstanding the Barbarian invasion, the schism, and the exile of the Papacy, still retained the recollection of her glorious past, brought even more vividly before her by the superb monuments which had withstood the ravages of time and of man. But even Rome, like the rest of Italy, acknowledged the superiority of Florence comparable to Athens itself, and all the cities of Italy did homage to her genius,

for she, together with Siena, had been the first to make the onward move. In the course of a century, from Dante and Giotto to the first of the Medici, from the two Pisani to Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Alberti, Florence reached the summit of human thought and the zenith of plastic beauty. While at the very moment when it seemed as if she must exhaust by the efforts which resulted in the birth of the Renaissance, she was about to produce the two human beings, Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, who in the domain of Art bring most nearly home to us the divine origin of our poor humanity. We must go back to Greek Art and to the age of Pericles for another such epoch in the world's history; and to form some idea of the revolution which was then brought about, we must revert to the advent of Christianity, which founded modern society upon the ruins of the old world.

It will be my endeavor to trace, as I proceed, the causes, direct and indirect, of this unquestioned superiority of Florence over the other cities of the Peninsula. To the sum of human knowledge which constitutes the trading capital of humanity, Florence contributed the largest share, and she further and above all possessed that gift and privilege of plastic beauty, just as some of God's creatures have the privilege of gracefulness. There was a period in her history when everything that her artists touched turned to gold. Their works were instinct with the

profound faith that inspired them, and their consummate strength and skill were masked by the gracefulness of their finish. Even to this day the marbles, frescoes, and manuscripts produced during this brilliant epoch in Florence, or by Florentines, retain a rare and unique individuality, an undefinable something made up of nobility, grandeur, calm strength, and sober elegance. Our eyes are attracted at a street corner, under a porch, in a gallery, or on the walls of a convent, as the case may be, by some object which stands out in such relief that the surrounding objects are, so to speak, obliterated. This is because the soul of Florence has passed into the inspired work: we recognize the sign by which all the works of the fifteenth century in Italy are marked, as we breathe the soft and subtle perfume which they exhale.

This superiority of Florentine Art has been everywhere felt, and all Italy was subject to its peaceful yoke as we are to-day. From Papal Rome, where the illustrious pontiffs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gathered about them the artists of Florence and the humanists of Tuscany, to the condottieri who wore the purple at Milan, Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua, Rimini, and Bologna, all the rulers of Italy sought to assemble a court composed in the main of illustrious Florentines. If they wanted to erect a cathedral or church, to cast an equestrian statue of some famous soldier, to write the history of some great city, or to

train the heir to a principality, it was to Florence that they turned their attention. Florence was the focus, the school, and the laboratory of human genius, and though there were other centres of intelligence—each northern town being in the fifteenth century a miniature Athens—Florence predominated over them all.

There are three distinct periods in the history of Florence. From the second half of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century she was struggling for existence, and torn by the conflicting passions of her own citizens divided by hereditary feuds. She attempted to establish liberty, but only succeeded in paving the way for an Athenian form of tyranny which had genius for its excuse and the majority of the citizens for its accomplices. Yet amid these incessant struggles of Guelphs and Ghibellines, and in spite of continual disturbances, the work of elaboration was ever going on, and has been a cause of astonishment to all the historians of that period. In France the English invasion and intestine struggles had extinguished civil life, and had put back the progress of humanity; but in Tuscany the flower of the Renaissance grew and bloomed in blood, unfolding itself in all its beauty at the dawn of the fifteenth century. This was the second and most brilliant of the three periods: that which was adorned by Cosimo, Father of his Country, and by Lorenzo the Magnificent; by savants, such as Marcilio Ficino, Politian,



Pico della Mirandola, Cristoforo Landino, Baccio Ugoni, Rinuccini, and the two Acciajuoli; by artists, like Brunelleschi, Michelozzo Michelozzi, Donatello, Leo Battista Alberti; and by men of political genius, such as Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Machiavelli, and Carlo Marsuppini.

At the time of the siege of Florence (1530), the splendor of this period was at its apogee, but with the exception of Galileo, who was destined to discover fresh truths, all the great innovators were in their graves. Michael Angelo upon his bastion, fortifying Florence and defending San Miniato, is symbolic of the genius of Florence struggling for independence and freedom against Charles V. When the city opened her gates the Republic was doomed, and the days of her greatness were numbered with the past.

The sixteenth century was not a barren one. Tumultuous, full of life, and with a tendency to extremes, it was more turbulent than the fifteenth; and ever eager to learn, it gave birth to a vast number of works, devoid, however, of the ardent faith, the conscientiousness, and the infinite depth which marked the preceding era. John of Bologna, with his martial air, Benvenuto himself, who may be looked upon as a condottiere who had by some accident found his way into the career of Art, and who, for all his fine ways, was an artist to the core, with all the qualities and defects of his age, cannot make us forget the gentle Desiderio, the tender Mino, and Donatello, about

whose works there is always something novel, distinctive, and grandiose.

No one will feel surprised when I say that it is the second period, from the thirteenth century to the fall of the Republic, which has been the subject of my predilection. It seems to have come to be understood within the last twenty years that, with the exception of two or three great figures which are the synthesis of human genius, and which shed their lustre over the early part of the sixteenth century in Italy, humanity disclosed nearly all its secrets from the time of Dante to the death of Michael Angelo and of Leonardo da Vinci. While if contemporary chroniclers have exhausted all that there is to say concerning the great literary and philosophical characters, the history of Art is only just dawning. Benozzo Gozzoli, Lippi, Memmi, Pollaiuolo, Piero della Francesca, Botticelli, Baccio Baldini, Pisanello, Finiguerra, Benedetto da Maiano, Michelozzo, Desiderio, and their contemporaries have been but little known in modern times, and their works not familiar even in their native places.

The period which begins with the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I., and finishes with John Gaston, was not devoid of glory for Florence. If the individuals are less famous, and if a sovereign like Lorenzo the Magnificent is replaced by one plunged in crime like Cosimo, there was an impetus acquired, a traditional greatness, a flow of sap which con-

tinued to produce flowers and fruit. The last prince of this race had a glimmer of intellectual genius, a desire to learn, a spark of sacred fire, and a certain sense of what was due to posterity which induced him to bequeath to his country Art treasures testifying clearly to his magnificence, his judgment, and his taste. Now and again, even during its decline, may be seen some sudden flicker of the Florentine genius about to be extinguished; and the period of the decadence of Florence with the Academy of the Cimento would pass muster for the Renaissance of some benighted peoples.

The genius of Florence was incarnate in the Medici; it has therefore been necessary to write the history of these merchant princes, who had the honor of twice giving their name to the century in which they lived: with Cosimo and Lorenzo at Florence, and with Leo X. at Rome. After having related the history of the Medici, I have sketched the movement known as the Renaissance, endeavoring to explain why Italy was the country of its birth, and have comprised in this essay biographies, summary in their character but derived from the most trustworthy sources, of the leading personages in philosophy and literature.

The principal monuments of Florence give us an insight into her civil life, for at that period the characters of men were reflected with great distinctness in their works. In this remarkable city, where were

born all the great ideas upon which are based the glory, the prosperity, and the experience of modern society, the Palazzo Vecchio—to take only this one building, of which D’Azeglio has said that it is a magnificent preface to the annals of Florence—fittingly symbolizes, by its rugged exterior and splendid ornamentation within, the dual character of an epoch in which the body was hardy while the mind was refined and eager for knowledge. The history and art of Florence are in her streets; and to walk about her squares, and to visit her churches and palaces, is equivalent to reading the chronicles of the city from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

Art necessarily occupied a large place at Florence, for the city was at once a museum and a temple. I have, therefore, treated the arts from their very beginning, that is the Etruscan period, to their decadence, in chronological order, describing the genius of each artist and the position which he held, rather than attempting to give his biography.

I do not retract what I said in my book on Venice, when I described the Frari, and the San Giovanni and Paolo monuments as the most splendid which had ever been erected to the memory of man, not even excepting those of the Vatican, of St. John Lateran, and of Santa Maria del Popolo: but while those at Florence, erected in the middle of the fifteenth century, are plainer and less pompous, they are more human and more touching, and Leopardi himself, with the in-

instincts of an artist, bent the knee to Desiderio and Donatello. Michael Angelo is more grandiose and inscrutable, stirring the imagination and inspiring a sort of religious terror with those enigmatic figures which seem to be carrying on in the obscurity of the tomb "the inward dream never to be completed;" but with all his genius he lacked the infinite candor, the angelic softness, and the exquisite chasteness of these sculptors of the fifteenth century. They remind us of Greece, where flowers were scattered over the graves, giving an impress of gentle repose and peace to death, and stripping it of its sinister characteristics. The philosopher and the cardinal whom Rosellino and Desiderio respectively have chiselled upon the marble sarcophagus seem to be sleeping peacefully, and their faces only reflect the calm and the beatitude of the blessed who know eternal truth.

I need not say that it is impossible to describe within the limits of this book the whole history of Florence, I can only endeavor to give the essence of it. Those who do not know the city may perhaps be tempted to visit her, while those who have been so fortunate as to dwell within her walls will, I venture to hope, be carried back in memory to her, and evolve from the darkness of recollection the living and bright reality.

As it was necessary to make a choice from a vast mass of matter, which would have filled ten volumes, I have divided the work into several sections, begin-

ning with the *History of Florence* and the *Renaissance Movement*, and going on to the *Notable Personages* and to *Art* itself. This is not the whole of Florence, but it gives, so to speak, the soul of the great city which has been the victim of one of the greatest historical movements of our day—the Unity of Italy.

Florence has a strong claim upon our affections, for she is the mother of all those to whom the intellect is more than the body ; and her streets and palaces are a fruitful source of study and instruction. Rome is grander, and appeals more strongly to the imagination ; Venice is more strange, more unique, more picturesque ; but Florence is more indispensable than either of them to humanity. She has given birth to Dante, the divine poet ; to Michael Angelo, the “man with four souls ;” and to Galileo, the blind man who could read in the darkness the secrets of the universe. If Florence disappeared from off the surface of the globe the archives of human thought would lose their most famous documents, and the modern Latin race would go into mourning for its ancestors.

## CHAPTER I.

## HISTORY.

OF the many conflicting opinions as to the origin of Florence, the one which seems to have the greatest weight of evidence in its favor is that it is Etruscan, or at all events that it owed its creation to the *débris* of the last Etruscan cities conquered by the Romans. It absorbed those colonists whom the Greeks called Tyrrhenians, but whom the Romans named Tuscans, and who, three centuries before the foundation of Rome, established in the heart of the peninsula a powerful kingdom extending from Pisa to Tarquinium, between the shores of the Mediterranean and the foot of the Apennines. Although Machiavelli, in the first chapter of his "Storie Fiorentine," represents Florence as being a Roman colony, built by the cohorts of Sylla, modern science holds to the opinion that the town on the banks of the Arno was originally a city formed by emigrations from Fiesole, that cradle of so many artists, from whose heights the eye commands so grand a prospect.\*

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\* According to one account, Catiline after conspiring against Rome fled to Fiesole, whither the Romans, under the consuls



Sylla, the proconsul, embellished the city, but about the middle of the sixth century it suffered greatly at the hands of the Goths and Vandals, who descended at that time like a plague upon Italy. For about the space of two hundred years little or nothing is known of Florence, but during the comparative peace and order of Charlemagne's rule she once more emerged from obscurity and began to take a prominent place among the Roman colonies in Tuscany, of which, however, Pisa was at that time the most important.

In the year 1010 the hitherto rival cities of Florence and Fiesole formed an alliance, and the two coats of arms were blended to symbolize the union. Florence abandoned her white lily and Fiesole her blue half-moon, so that the new device was simply a shield divided in the middle, the red field of Florence occupying one side and the white field of Fiesole the other.\*

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Metello and Fiorino, followed and fought him. Fiorino was killed on the shores of the Arno, and Julius Cæsar, after avenging his death by laying siege to and destroying Fiesole, built a city on the spot on which he died, called Fiorenze, in memory of him. Another tradition makes the name a corruption of Flumentia, because it stands at the junction of the Arno and the Mugnone; while still another ascribes its origin to the great number of flowers which grow in that region.

“Alfine gli abitanti per memoria  
 Porch 'era posta in un prato di fiori  
 Le denno il nome bello onde s'ingloria.”

\* The lily, however, continues to this day to be used as the



The arms of the Republic underwent further changes at each great event in her history (although the standard displayed from the "Caroccio" in time of war was invariably the red and white field adopted in 1010). This accounts for the different coats of arms carved on the façades of some of her public buildings. We find, for instance, the word "*Libertas*" on a blue field, the device of the Priors of the Arts, which was adopted at the close of the twelfth century, when Florence threw off the imperial yoke. The golden keys crossed on a blue ground, bestowed on the city in 1265 by Clement IV. An eagle trampling

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emblem of the city. There are various legends as to its origin. The most common one states that when the Florentines were being sore pressed by an army of Barbarians on Sta. Reparata's Day, October 8, 405, the saint suddenly appeared on the battlefield, holding in her hand a blood-red banner with a white lily on it, and turned the fortunes of the day. The Florentines, in grateful remembrance of this incident, adopted the white lily on a red ground as their coat of arms. Another account tells how in the days of Numa Pompilius a crimson shield fell from Heaven into Rome and was adopted as the "*insegna e arme*" of the city. The Romans subsequently bestowed this "*insegna*" upon all the cities founded by them, as Perugia, Florence, Pisa, and the Florentines, in allusion to Fiorino and the name of their city, added the white lily as an "*Intrasegna-insegna frapposta ad altra nel campo dell' arme gentilizie.*"—Villari *Chroniche*, p. 22.

In 1250 the red lily on a white field was adopted. When, the Guelphs having obtained the upper hand, the Ghibellines were driven out of the city, the latter retained the white lily, and added the double-headed eagle of the Empire.—See Dante, *Divine Comedy*, Paradiso, Cant. xvi.

a dragon under foot, also bestowed by Clement IV., the Guelphs adding the small golden lily later. The golden lilies on a blue field, with a golden file, adopted when Charles of Anjou assumed the government of the city in 1267. And the shield divided perpendicularly, with golden lilies on a blue field on one side, and red stripes on a golden field on the other, the arms of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, appointed Lord of Florence in 1313.

During the last half of the eleventh century Florence was ruled by the Countess Matilda. This celebrated woman was the last representative of the powerful house of Canossa. Her mother, Beatrice of Lorraine, had inherited Tuscany, Liguria, part of Lombardy, Modena, and Ferrara, and Matilda, an ardent supporter of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), put herself and her vast possessions at the disposal of the Pope, bequeathing everything she had to the Holy See at her death, which occurred in 1115. The Emperor denied her right so to dispose of her lands, claiming them as fiefs of the Empire, and thus a large part of Italy was drawn into the struggle between "those two halves of God, the Pope and the Emperor," which was destined to distract her for centuries, and convert that beautiful country into a vast battlefield. Florence, however, always keen and wary, contrived to hold aloof, and quietly occupied herself in strengthening her own hands and building up a system of self-government, so that in due course

of time she was able not only to resist the demands of the various imperial representatives sent to her by Henry IV. and Frederick Barbarossa, but to adopt a very independent tone in her dealings with the Popes themselves. As early, however, as 1177 civil discord broke out among her citizens. Many of the powerful nobles living in the neighboring country or "contado" had been subdued by the Commune, their castles destroyed, and they themselves forced to take up their abode in the city, where, for some time at least, they were excluded from the privileges of citizenship and all share in the Government. Thanks to this policy a strong "opposition" party was formed, composed of these immigrant nobles, several powerful families, with the Uberti at their head, who had been kept out of office, and all the other malcontents, from whatever cause, who happened to be in the city. They rose against the Government, and for two years the city was the scene of continuous broils and faction fights.

In 1184 Frederick Barbarossa, temporarily reconciled with the Holy See, visited the city in person. The nobles, who had gotten the worst of it in their struggle with the people, made a formal complaint to him, with the result that Florence, by way of punishment, was deprived for a short time of her jurisdiction over the "contado." Party feeling ran high, and it needed but a trifling incident to kindle into flames the smoldering embers of mutual distrust.

In the year 1215 a betrothal took place between a

member of the powerful family of Buondelmonte and a daughter of the Amadei. As the former was riding through the city one day he was suddenly accosted by a lady of the house of Donati, who reproached him bitterly for allowing himself to be drawn into an alliance in every way unworthy of him, declaring that she had always intended to bestow her own daughter upon him, having reserved her for this very purpose, and concluded by pointing out the maiden in question, who had followed her mother to the street. No sooner did the bridegroom-elect set eyes upon her than, captivated by her extraordinary beauty, he threw honor and prudence to the winds and announced his intention of marrying her forthwith. Great was the indignation of the Amadei when news of the insult reached them. A meeting was held of all the relatives and adherents of the family, who bound themselves by an oath to avenge the slight; and on Easter morning, lying in wait for the youthful bridegroom, they dragged him from his horse near the Ponte Vecchio and murdered him forthwith. The whole city at once flew to arms, those whose leanings were towards the Guelphs siding with the Buondelmonti, and the rest, forming a Ghibelline party, with the Amadei at its head. And thus were those names of evil omen imported into Florence, where they became the rallying cries in a struggle which century after century deluged the city with blood, led to the exile of the greatest of her

children, and made her an easy prey to foreign powers.\*

By the middle of the thirteenth century Florence, Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, and Pistoia were firmly established as independent communes, and Florence had engaged in numerous wars, directed chiefly against her neighbors, the Sienese, with whom, however, a treaty of peace was signed in 1235. In 1248 the Emperor Frederick II., who was carrying on a fierce struggle with Pope Innocent IV., treacherously incited the Ghibelline leaders—the Uberti—to rise, hoping to strengthen the Imperialists in Italy by stirring up party feuds. The Ghibellines were successful, and the Guelphs driven out, some taking refuge in the upper Valdarno and others intrenching themselves in the fortress of Capraia in the lower Valdarno, where the Ghibellines, aided by reinforcements sent by the Emperor, attacked and eventually overcame them. The Ghibellines, left in undisputed power, carried things with so high a hand that before long popular discontent broke out. As soon as the news of their discomfiture at Montevarchi, on October 20, 1250, reached Florence the people assembled, and meeting with little or no resistance, proceeded to

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\* Guelph was derived from Welf, and Ghibelline from Wai-  
blingen, a castle belonging to the Emperor Conrad. They are  
said to have been first used in the battle of Weinsberg in 1140, in a  
struggle between the Welfs of Altdorf and the imperial line of  
Hohenstaufen.

establish a new form of Government. Thirty-six *Caporali di Popolo*—six for each of the six wards of the city—were appointed; a *Capitano del Popolo* to represent the people, as the Podestà\* became from henceforth more and more the accredited representative of the nobles, and, like him, appointed for but one year, and, to balance these two opposing parties in the Government, twelve *Anziana* (elders) *del Popolo*, two from each ward. The population was formed into a military organization under the command of the *Capitano*, the city being divided into twenty armed companies, each with its banner and Gonfaloniere; and the ringing of the bell hung in the Tower of the Lion, by the *Capitano*, was to be the signal for the people to assemble. This civil and military form of Government, so rapidly and quietly constructed and adopted by the Florentine people, was the foundation upon which was built the liberty and strength of the Republic.

The Ghibellines were cowed for the nonce, and the exiled Guelphs returned. For ten years the new Government lasted—a period of great prosperity, as witnessed by her rapid growth in wealth and power.

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\* The office of Podestà was created in the year 1207. The city was then governed by six consuls and a Senate, and with a view to obtaining impartiality in the administration of justice it was determined to appoint a “foreigner”—i.e., some one from another city—to preside over the civil and criminal courts for the space of one year, with the title of Podestà, and full authority to convict, pass sentences, and execute judgments.



In 1252 the gold florin was first struck. Then came the disastrous battle of Montaperti—in September, 1260—when the Guelphs were utterly defeated by an army of Ghibellines collected at Siena by Farinata degli Uberti. So great was the slaughter that Dante speaks of it as having dyed the waters of the Arbia red.

“Che fece l’Arbia colorata in rosso.”

—Inferno, Canto x.

Florence came near paying with her very existence on that occasion for the discord she had let loose among her children, and to Farinata degli Uberti is due the honor of having saved her from total destruction, for when at the conference of the Ghibelline leaders, which took place at Empoli after the battle, it was suggested to raze the turbulent city to the ground, he alone of all present interposed in her behalf, and to such purpose that the infamous project was abandoned.

Another brief period of peace ensued, the people, excluded by the Ghibellines from all participation in public affairs, devoted their surplus energies to the extension of trade, and commerce received so marvellous an impetus that the foundations were laid of many great private fortunes, and the commonwealth increased enormously in wealth and importance. Manfred, the friend and ally of the Ghibellines, having been defeated and slain in February, 1266, the Guelphs began to reassert themselves, and by the

following November had managed to gain control of the city, from whence they sallied forth from time to time on victorious expeditions, directed against the surrounding cities, towns, and villages, where Ghibellines were known to have taken refuge.

In October, 1278, however, both parties having grown weary of strife, Pope Nicholas III. was requested to mediate between them, and accordingly dispatched Cardinal Latino to represent him, with the result that peace was concluded, and from henceforth the name of Ghibelline is but little heard in the annals of Florence. Then began a period of extraordinary prosperity ; arts and industries flourished to a surprising extent, and Florence took the first place among all the Tuscan communes. Florentine merchants enjoyed the highest reputation for integrity throughout not only Italy, but the entire world. Magnificent buildings were erected by order of the commune, and also by private enterprise, while architecture, literature, and art were represented by such men as Arnolfo di Cambio, Dante, and Cimabue. After the death of Frederick II., in December, 1250, an interregnum had occurred in the Imperial succession, and when, in 1281, Rudolph of Hapsburgh endeavored to recall the Tuscan communes to their allegiance, it was found that they had grown completely beyond the Imperial control, while the Guelph party being pre-eminent, the support of the Pope could be relied upon.





Portrait of Dante from the Fresco in the Bargello  
*Giotto*





In 1282 an important change was made in the form of government. Among other means taken by Cardinal Latino to establish a lasting peace between the factions had been the substitution of a body composed of fourteen citizens—eight Guelphs and six Ghibellines—for the *Anziani*. It was now enacted that *Priori delle Arti* should be selected, one by each guild, to be its president, and that three of these, that is, one from each of the three powerful Guilds of the Calimala, the money-changers, and the woollen-cloth merchants, should be appointed to be at the head of the Government. Before long the “fourteen” were abolished altogether and the priors increased to the number of six. The council thus formed was the nucleus of the celebrated body of the Signoria, the office of Gonfaloniere being created in 1293.

In 1289 a great battle was fought at Campaldino, in which Florence and the Guelph Government achieved a signal victory over the Aretines, aided by exiled Ghibellines. Dante, then about twenty-four, took part in this battle, and Vieri de’ Cerchi behaved with great gallantry.

The peace which now seemed to be so firmly established was, however, destined to be of short duration, and before long the old quarrel broke out with increased violence under new party names.

The most powerful family of Pistoia was at this time the Caneellieri, but these numerous descendants of a common ancestor, who had had two wives, had

quarrelled among themselves. The whole city was divided, those espousing one side taking the name of *Bianchi*, after one wife, and the others styling themselves *Neri*.

In 1300 Florence, thinking to mend matters, took the government of the distracted city into her own hands, and conceived the unfortunate idea of banishing the chiefs of both factions to Florence, with the result that all the friends and connections of the *Bianchi*, with Vieri de' Cerchi at their head, at once espoused their cause, while the *Neri* had as powerful a following, with Corso Donati for their leader. Thus was Florence once more torn by internal discord, the old Guelph party siding for the most part with the *Neri*, and the Ghibellines with the *Bianchi*. The former, fearing that the others were getting things too much into their own hands, determined to apply to Pope Boniface VIII. to settle the dispute. He accordingly summoned Vieri de' Cerchi to Rome, counselled him to become reconciled with his enemies—Messer Corso Donati in particular—and promised him his favor and protection if he would do so. But Vieri would have none of it, declared that he was not at enmity with anyone, and returned to Florence, leaving the Pope greatly incensed against him and his party. The so-called “Ordinances of Justice,” instituted in 1293 by Giano della Bella, a powerful Guelph leader, only served to arouse opposition and discontent, being drastic measures directed chiefly

against the nobles of whatever party. The office of Gonfaloniere was created at the same time, as one of the means of enforcing the "ordinances."

A skirmish that occurred during the popular festivities on May Day, 1300, between the youths of both factions, set the whole city in an uproar. The Guelphs again applied to the Pope for aid, and Cardinal Acquasparta was sent to Florence in the quality of Papal Legate. In June, as the city guilds were going in procession, headed by their consuls, to the church of San Giovanni,—it being the eve of the festival of that saint,—a party of nobles belonging to the *Neri* suddenly attacked them, shouting, "We are the ones who gained the victory at Campaldino, and you are keeping us out of all the offices and emoluments of our city!" In order to quell the disturbances the Priors—Dante being one at that time—decided to banish for a certain period some of the leaders of each party. The *Bianchi* left at once, but the *Neri* resisted, and a plot was formed, with the connivance of the Legate, to introduce an armed force from Lucca into the city. The Signory, however, getting wind of it, put a stop to the whole thing, and forced the conspirators to leave. Whereupon the Legate, seeing no hope of establishing certain "reforms" in the government of the Republic, upon which he had set his heart, departed in dudgeon, and Florence was placed under a Papal interdict.

The Emperor Henry VII. died in 1313, but not-

withstanding this severe blow the Ghibelline party, under Uguccio dell' Fagginola, won the battle of Montecatini against the Florentines in 1315, and were again victorious in 1325 at Altopascio, under the notorious Castruccio Castracane of Lucca.

In 1342 the Florentines, feeling that affairs were in a very bad way indeed in their city, invited Gauthier de Brienne—styled Duke of Athens by reason of some shadowy claim to that title—to hold the office of Captain and Protector of the People for one year, and also to be Captain-General. The duke was given the same salary, privileges, and authority as his predecessor, but showed himself to be such a tyrant and despot that before many weeks had elapsed the Florentines were anxious to be rid of him. This, however, proved no easy matter, and it was not until he had held office nearly a year and a number of plots against his life had been defeated that he and his supporters were finally driven out.

The absence of any one holding supreme authority led to a renewal of popular agitation, and the form of government was continually changing, first the people, and then the nobles getting the upper hand—the *Grandi* and the *Popolani*, or the *Popolo grasso* and the *popolo minuto*.

In the midst of all these troubles a terrible scourge fell upon Florence. In 1348 the plague coming from the East ravaged the city, destroying, according to Machiavelli, a hundred thousand persons, and indi-



rectly inspiring Boccaccio with a work which is generally looked upon as his masterpiece. A body called the "*Capitani di Parte Guelfa*" had been instituted in 1267, and had gradually come to wield an almost unlimited power, two leading families, the Albizzi and the Rieci, being rivals for the foremost places in it; and we find Salvestro de' Medici now appearing in the office of Gonfalonier, and as the favorite and leader of the people.

By the spring of 1378 the tyranny of the rulers had become intolerable, the popular discontent waxed greater and greater, finally culminating in the outbreak termed the "*Ciampi Revolution*," in allusion to the *ciampi*—wooden shoes—worn by the artisans who took part in it. Before the close of July the people had gained their ends. Michele di Lando, a wool comber, who for about the space of twenty-four hours had absolute control of the Government, used his authority to hold an election of members for a new Signory, and enforce other measures by which order was restored.

The fifty years that elapsed between these events and the rise of the Medici family to power were at once stormy and brilliant. When the inevitable reaction against the popular government came, the Albizzi succeeded in obtaining the ascendancy, and in 1382 their long oligarchical government began. There was, as a matter of course, plenty of civil strife, but with it all Florence succeeded in carrying

on foreign wars of aggression, in enlarging her territory, and in increasing her commerce. The prevailing system of taxation was, however, a cause of great discontent, especially among the lower classes, on whom it bore most heavily. When at last, through the efforts of Giovanni de'Medici, a reform was effected in 1427 the gratitude of the people knew no bounds, and the foundation was laid of that influence and popularity upon which the Medici family afterwards built up their enormous power.

From the death of Giovanni, which occurred in February, 1429, up to within a few years of the fall of the Republic—a period covering about a hundred years—the history of Florence is practically the history of the Medici family, which I am about to trace from its origin to the height of its greatness, and its final decline.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE MEDICI.

THE origin of the Medici is purely Florentine. As early as 1215 we find a certain Buonagiunta de' Medici appearing, as one of the councillors, and the name constantly reappears in the annals of that early period. The first, however, to occupy a prominent place in history, and rise high enough above the level of his fellow-citizens to foreshadow that this merchant family was destined to give Tuscany her future sovereigns, was Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, whose election in 1421 to the office of Gonfaloniere, while it caused much satisfaction among the people, did not fail to arouse great uneasiness among the rulers. Niccolo da Uzzano pointed out clearly to his associates the danger of thus placing power in the hands of one who not only came from a prominent and ambitious family, but himself possessed wealth and mental attainments far above the ordinary. Giovanni was, however, far too sagacious a man to endanger his position by any overt act. He kept his ambition in check, devoted himself to the accumulation of enormous wealth, effected a reform in the method of taxation—being the author of the famous Catasta

—and died, deeply regretted by all classes, on the 28th of February, 1428.

Machiavelli has left a portrait of him which all writers of history have accepted. He was very charitable, seeking out the poor in order to relieve them. Affable to all men, he was never a candidate for posts of honor, and yet they were showered upon him. He was only to be seen at the Government palace at such times when the public weal demanded his presence. Of a pacific disposition, he did all in his power to avoid war. Careful of the public money, his main object was to increase the revenues of the State. In public office he distinguished himself by his benevolence. Without being absolutely eloquent, he was gifted with rare intelligence. Sedate and even melancholy in appearance, he was amiable and cheerful in his relations with others. Born in 1360, he was twice elected Prior, once Gonfaloniere, and once a member of the War Council of Ten. He was married to Piccarda Bucri, by whom he had two sons, Cosimo and Lorenzo. He lived to see these two sons grow up and develop habits of great activity, both mental and physical, and to find that, while liberal and generous, they sought to increase the family inheritance and make it useful to the State.

At his death Giovanni was interred in the sacristy of the Basilica of San Lorenzo, which he had employed Brunelleschi to restore at his expense. He had not, however, the satisfaction of witnessing the

completion of this edifice, which was to be the pantheon of his family, though the work was carried on by his two sons. His tomb is situated in the centre of the Sagrestia Vecchia, where, five years later, his wife was laid beside him. It is only after looking through all the original correspondence of these merchant princes, as I have done, that one can appreciate their lofty intellect, their flexibility, and varied attainments. There was nothing doing in their day in which they had not some share, or which came foreign to them, whether war, public office, diplomacy, politics, art, or literature; and, above all, they were endowed—gifted politicians that they were—with peculiar affability towards men of low degree, did they but possess any real merit.

Warmth of heart and the power to kindle enthusiasm in others were their special attributes, as may be gathered from passages in some of the letters still preserved in the “Archivio di Stato” of Florence, under the title “Lettere Innanzi il Principato.”

#### COSIMO THE ELDER.

During his father's lifetime Cosimo had taken part in public affairs while still engaged in the business of his house, and as he had a reputation for unusual intelligence, combined with rare prudence, he was on several occasions selected to undertake the most delicate missions, as, for instance, when he represented the Republic of Florence at the Council of Constance,

when the claims of Baldassare Cossa—John XXIII.—to the Papacy were set aside. There is a curious incident in this connection which testifies to the proud attitude assumed by the Republic towards the great powers, including the greatest of them all—the Papacy. After his deposal by the Council, Cossa fled in disguise—it is said accompanied by Cosimo—but having been discovered and taken, he was confined by order of the Council, in Heidelberg Castle, where he would no doubt have remained for the rest of his life had he not paid a large sum of money as a ransom and promised to do homage to his rival on his knees. This ceremony took place in Florence with much pomp and circumstance. Martin V. then restoring him to favor, he was appointed Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati and permitted to pass the brief remainder of his days in peace at Florence, where his death occurred in January, 1418. Donatello and Michelozzo Michelozzi were instructed to erect a tomb worthy of one who had been “Pope and prisoner of a Pope.” A splendid monument was accordingly raised, which may still be seen, in the Baptistery of San Giovanni, on the right of the high altar. But the inscription provoked the wrath of Pope Martin, who had never quite forgiven the Florentines for a doggerel about himself which the little boys had shouted through the streets on the occasion of his last visit, and he imperiously demanded that the words “quondam papa” should be erased, to which the

Signory returned the disdainful reply : “ Quod scripsi scripsi.” It is sometimes alleged that Pope John, out of gratitude for the many services rendered him by Giovanni and Cosimo de’ Medici, bequeathed them large sums at his death, but this has been disproved by the publication of the Medicean Archives, among which are documents showing that the Pontiff actually died in debt to the house of Medici.\*

Giovanni lived long enough to initiate his sons into public life, but Cosimo ranked higher than his father, and laid the foundation of the fame of his family. He married the daughter of Count Bardi, and when he became head of the house his influence and credit increased every day. He did not exercise any official authority in the strict sense of the term, but that moral supremacy, to which the public gave voluntary adhesion, and which became the hereditary privilege of this illustrious family, was in his case very marked.

The Government at that time consisted of a Council of Priors, presided over by a Gonfaloniere, appointed for a period of only two months, in order that power might not remain permanently in the hands of any one party. This precaution against tyranny was rendered useless, if not by the devices of the Medici, at all events by the extraordinary influence which they exercised over the masses. They had so multi-

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\* See Archivio Storico Italiano. (Vol. iv., page 433, Documenti, i., ii., and iii.)—Napier’s Florentine Hist.



plied their good deeds, had made such an intelligent use of their wealth, and had managed their patronage so well, that every one felt his hands to be tied, and unconsciously, perhaps, surrendered at discretion. With this class the public weal was identified with the private interests of the Medici. If at the elections Cosimo, Lorenzo, and their children, nephews, and more distant relatives did not gain the vote for themselves, partisans of their family were returned. In course of time a powerful party of the Florentines came to look upon the Medici as the natural depositaries of power, as a nursery garden of politicians indispensable to the public welfare.

It will easily be understood that they had made many enemies, and Rinaldo degli Albizzi, who was leader of the opposite faction, contrived in the autumn of 1433 to obtain control of the Signory about entering into office, so that on September 7th Cosimo was cited to appear before that body at the palace. Acting against the advice of his friends he obeyed the summons, and was forthwith consigned to a prison within the walls of that building.

The historian who resides at Florence, and the man of the world who always likes to compare monuments with history, and to see if documents tally with oral statements, may still picture to themselves, by visiting in the tower of the Old Palace the prison called the Alberghettino, the scene which was enacted there in 1433, when Cosimo, placed under the charge



of Federico Malvolti, exchanged the splendor of his father's palace for the gloomy and confined residence to which he was consigned by his enemies. Machiavelli says that, for fear of being poisoned, the son of Giovanni, who was soon to be called the "Father of his Country," refused all food for four days, and subsisted on a crust of bread.

He was shortly afterwards banished, taking refuge first at Padua and afterwards at Venice. He was not the only victim of the Signory, his brother Lorenzo, with all the other Medici and their principal partisans, being likewise obliged to leave Florence.

Cosimo was at that time forty-six years of age, and we know that during his exile he interested himself in art, science, and literature, and that while at Venice he applied to some of the eminent artists who were destined to become illustrious in his service for designs for the buildings which he purposed some day to erect. It was evident that in exiling him the Florentines wished to get rid of a citizen whom they deemed too powerful, and that, as in the case of Aristides, they were tired of hearing him called the Just. This was only a prudent step, no doubt, on the part of those who were anxious to preserve the Republican form of government; but the people are always ready to accept a certain degree of servitude, and are easily aroused to enthusiasm for those who seem born to command. Before a year had elapsed

they began to murmur and demand the recall of Cosimo, who had not conspired against his country, and who, while in exile, still sought to embellish and to render it more prosperous. Pope Eugenius, then at Florence, threw the weight of his influence in with the Medician party, and by the force of the reaction—which is one of the characteristic features of popular government—Cosimo was recalled. Then was witnessed the singular spectacle of a whole city going out to greet one who was neither a conqueror nor a chosen ruler, but merely a man who had peacefully exercised a constant influence, and whose moral authority, not guarded by any decree or law, was as effectual as any recognized and legal power.

From this time forth the Republic ceased to exist in reality, though not in name, for that was maintained for a long time, Cosimo being styled the Father of his Country; but the Medici dynasty was practically established, and the people paid willing obsequance to a family whose “manifest destiny” was so plainly indicated. The date of their return (1434) marks virtually the end of the Republican epoch.

Cosimo was then in his prime, and he lived for thirty years after his return from exile. Reading with care the history of Florence, it will be seen that these thirty years were the most prolific in regard to intellectual culture and the development of art. Lorenzo the Magnificent reaped the harvest, but history must ascribe the merit of it to Cosimo the Elder.

The mere recollection of this memorable epoch makes the heart beat faster, and the hand which would fain depict it cannot but tremble. One must go back to the days of Pericles to find so lofty a flight in every branch of literature, science, and art. Countless books have been written about the Renaissance, and no effort has been spared to trace out its origins, and to show by what combination of circumstances this sublime efflorescence of human genius was brought about. There are indeed apparent and immediate causes, but the movement had been long in preparation, and the two preceding centuries remarkably rich in artistic productions.

Cosimo, besides those literary tastes which led him to gather around him the greatest thinkers, philosophers, and poets of his day, also took a strong interest in architecture, and had a practical knowledge of art; it is to him that we owe San Lorenzo, the church and convent of St. Mark, the monastery of San Verdiana, the monastery of San Gerolamo upon the heights of Fiesole, where the Gerolamite hermits assembled, until it was suppressed by Clement IX., and the abbey of San Bartolomeo and San Romolo for the canons of the Lateran. At Mugello, his favorite residence until Careggi was built, he reconstructed from its very foundations the convent of Bosco a Prati, and in each of these religious houses he took care that there was a library of MSS. Countless was the number of private chapels built at his expense, such as the

Noviziato at Santa Croce ; and those in the convent of Agnoli belonging to the Camalduli Fathers ; in the church of the Servi ; and that of San Miniato al Monte. When to these are added the gift of all the ornaments, furniture, and utensils necessary for celebrating public worship, it will be seen what immense wealth the house of Medici must have possessed.

Giovanni himself lived in great state, but his son outdid him in splendor. San Tommaso in Mercato, the first residence of the Medici, was abandoned for the splendid palace in the Via Larga. During his lifetime he had four summer residences in the neighborhood of Florence : Careggi, which still exists, Fiesole, Cafaggiuolo, and Trebbio. He kept up the state of a prince rather than of a private individual, and his charities were far reaching, for he founded an asylum at Jerusalem for needy pilgrims, and employed his leisure time while exiled at Venice in founding a library of MSS. in the monastery of the canons of San Giorgio.

All the subsequent doings of the Medici are well known, and I have had in my hand the account-books of the expenses of all these buildings ; these historic documents, which are now of great value, being preserved in the State archives of Florence. They are called the "*Libro di Ragione*," and it was in them that the steward kept a debtor and creditor account of all that he paid and received. During the lifetime of Giovanni alone the expenditure under this

head amounted to five hundred thousand gold crowns, and even this enormous sum did not make any appreciable difference in the ever-growing fortune of the house. It will, of course, be well understood that Giovanni himself, the founder of the house, did not amass all this wealth, his inheritance from his father being a very considerable one; but his business as a money-changer, carried on upon an immense scale, had increased it very much. As far back as the fourteenth century the Medici had sixteen counting-houses in different cities of Europe, and they had also contracted for the taxes and excise of the Republic, so that a very large profit accrued from all these transactions, conducted with a scrupulous honesty which had established their credit upon very solid foundations. Moreover, they carried on a banking business, and it was to these operations—not always very profitable, because they sometimes lent money to those of their fellow-citizens who could not pay the interest, or even what they had borrowed—that they owed their immense popularity. This generosity may, however, not have been wholly disinterested, and several contemporary writers, Varchi among them, have denounced their liberality as being all a sham, and have said that Giovanni founded the influence of his family upon corruption, and bought his way to supreme power.

Be this as it may, Giovanni and his two sons became bankers to kings, and lent money to sovereigns

who sought to possess themselves of dominion. Edward IV. always said that it was thanks to them that he wore the crown of England.

For such a man as Cosimo, with children worthy of himself—animated by a liberal and generous spirit, a warm-hearted and intelligent patron of arts, science, and letters, circumspect and daring by turn, as occasion requires—there need be no limit to success. He possessed, moreover, that most powerful of all engines for travelling along the road to power—boundless wealth. The name of Medici, like that of Mæcenas, became in future ages the synonym for an enlightened patron of literature; and if this family did not absolutely initiate the extraordinary movement which, starting from Florence, spread throughout Italy, they supported it with such ardor and profound conviction that they gave their name to the century, so that one now speaks of the “age of the Medici” as of the “age of Pericles.”

Cosimo, in his position, might, had he so desired, have espoused some Italian princess, or even the daughter of a sovereign house; but he had the tact to marry a Florentine, the daughter of Count Bardi; and he adopted the same course with his children, marrying his eldest son Piero to Lucrezia Tornabuoni, and his other son, Giovanni, to Cornelia degli Alessandri. His brother Lorenzo died comparatively young, without having occupied a very prominent place in the State; but as he left a son, Piero Fran-



ciseo de' Medici, the family divided into two branches—the elder, of which Cosimo the Father of his Country was the head, and the younger, issuing from Lorenzo, second son of Giovanni Averardo di Bieci.

It was Cosimo who built the Medici Palae, now called the Riccardi Palae, as a family residence. Machiavelli has described his death in the villa at Careggi, and has left a flattering portrait which brings out the principal traits in his character. After enumerating his endowments, his undertakings, and splendor of life, he praises him for having always preserved, both in public and private, so simple a demeanor that he might easily have been mistaken for the humblest of his fellow-citizens. He led for the most part a very laborious life, but during his latter years allowed himself some mental relaxation, and leaving the management of his business to the Tornabuoni, the Benci, the Portinari, and the Sassetti, whose fortunes he had made, surrounded himself with men of letters, and artists. He was the personal friend of Donatello and Michelozzo, of Mareilio Ficino, of Cristoforo Landino, of Giovanni Cavalcanti, of Bartolomeo and Filippo Valori, of Baecio Ugolini, of Giovanni, Pico, and of Leone Battista Alberti.

He had not, it may be admitted, the high intellectual culture of Lorenzo the Magnificent, but it was enough for a Medici to be, as regards comprehension and enthusiasm, on a level with those who produce

and create. Moreover there are extant letters of Cosimo the Elder which show that he was an ardent student. In one of these he writes to Marcilio Ficino : "I came to Careggi yesterday as much for the purpose of improving my land as of benefiting myself. Come to see me as soon as you possibly can, and do not forget to bring with you divine Plato's treatise on 'The Sovereign Good.' You ought ere this to have translated it into Latin. There is no research to which I would devote myself more zealously than to that of truth. Come, then, and bring with you the Orphean lyre."

This is not the only proof of his enthusiasm for literature. In the shrubberies and woods of Careggi he spent the hottest hours of the day in learned discussion with the great writers and philosophers whose names we have quoted. A profound admirer of Gemistas Plethon, the Greek philosopher who upheld the doctrines of Plato, and whose tomb I discovered at Rimini, Cosimo determined to found a Platonician school, and he placed at the head of it Marcilio Ficino, a man of profound intellect, a great thinker, a great writer, and a Christian philosopher, who declared that the proofs of the Divinity were to be found among the pagans, as the Fathers of the Church in his day were not sound. Marcilio was the son of Cosimo's physician ; and beneath the trees of Careggi, and in the rooms of that summer residence, there assembled an areopagus composed of the human-



ists who paved the way for the literary Renaissance in Italy.

The death of Cosimo the Elder was very touching. He had been unhappy in his private life, for Giovanni, the son whom he liked best, had died young, and Piero, nicknamed *Gottoso*—so deformed and debilitated was he by gout—became too infirm to bear the burden of public affairs. Cosimo, therefore, found his sole consolation in literature. Still, he lived to see his grandson Lorenzo, the son of Piero, grow up, and at the age of sixteen this lad showed signs of the ability which made him the greatest man of his day. Cosimo, however, never got over the death of Giovanni, and as he was being carried one day in his chair through the magnificent rooms of the Riccardi Palace he was heard to murmur, “Too large a house for so small a family.” Cosimo died on the 1st of August, 1464, at Careggi, just outside Florence, and he was buried in the basilica of San Lorenzo, at the foot of a marble column. The traveller who visits the church and pauses before the high altar will be standing upon a circle of inlaid marble bearing the inscription, “Cosmus Medices—Hic Situs est—Decreto Publico—Pater Patriæ.”

PIERO I. (NICKNAMED THE GOUTY.)

(1416–1469.)

Piero the Gouty, who was never popular, survived his father five years, and died at the age of fifty-

three, his ill-health preventing him from taking an active part in public affairs. As his brothers Carlo and Giovanni had predeceased him, the only brilliant representative of the race of the Medici was his son Lorenzo, who gave early promise of his distinguished abilities. At Cosimo's death Piero on the advice of Diotisalvi Neroni, a trusted friend and councillor of his father, took a step which made him very unpopular. He had a list of his debtors made out, and sought to recover the sums standing against their names, but as Cosimo had never claimed these moneys, which in many cases had been advanced without any intention of having them repaid, his right was called in question and his popularity gone. For all that he was a thorough Medici, and in many respects a very interesting character. Following the example of Cosimo, he retained the services of Marcilio Ficino, and published at his own expense the five volumes of Plato which the latter had translated into Latin. It should be borne in mind, too, that he founded a chair, in which Marcilio gave lectures on the great Greek philosopher to large and enthusiastic audiences. There was quite a fever for study, and it is difficult for us, absorbed as we are in the commonplace of politics and in the dreary round which dampens all generous ideas and extinguishes all noble aspirations, to conceive the enthusiasm which took possession of the people of Florence. Marcilio Ficino suspended before the bust of Plato, as above the altar

of a church, a lighted lamp. Francesco Sacchetti tells us that on one occasion an admirer of Dante took the tapers which were burning upon the altar of the crucifix, and placed them before the poet's bust, saying, "Accept them, for you are more worthy of them than He." The whole city was a prey to delirium, but delirium of a most generous kind.

Boccaccio was the earliest reader of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the original, and he translated them into Latin with the assistance of a Greek residing in Calabria. Petrarch, who did not know Greek, but who had read the Latin translation, preserved the originals as a relic. The movement in favor of Hellenism was started by the Greeks who came to the Council of Florence, and Piero's son vulgarized the poets and historians of antiquity by forming the famous library of manuscripts which in course of time became the "Laurentiana."

During the reign of Cosimo the Elder, Niccolo Niccoli spent all his fortune in purchasing manuscripts, and Cosimo, remarking how well versed he was in antiquities, took him into his employ, and opened a credit to enable him to buy whatever seemed to him worth having. It was he who discovered the remaining works of Ammianus Marcellinus, Cicero's "*de Oratore*," and the *Lubeca Pliny*. He had converted his house into a public library, and any one was allowed to go in and read, copy, or translate, while those who wanted advice on any

point connected with their studies received all the assistance in his power. At his death he left eight hundred manuscripts, valued at eight thousand gold florins, which Cosimo, with his usual liberality, purchased and presented to the monastery of San Marco, which occupies so prominent a place in the history of Florence. By his wife Lucrezia Tornabuoni, Piero had two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, and by his own express desire he was buried without pomp in the Sagrestia Vecchia of San Lorenzo. His sons Lorenzo surnamed the Magnificent, and Giuliano, built him a superb tomb near the entrance to the Lady Chapel. Andrea Verocchio, the sculptor of the equestrian statue of Colleoni\* and the "Child and the Dolphin," was employed on its execution. It consists of a porphyry sarcophagus resting upon a marble slab supported by bronze tortoises, and decorated with foliage of the most exquisite workmanship.

#### LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.

(1448-1492.)

Camilla Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent son of Piero, has left behind her a reputation for great prudence, resolution, and dignity, some of the stories which are related of her reminding one of the mother of the Gracchi. She was as highly educated as any woman of her time, and

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\* See chapter on Verrochio.

the number of works dedicated to her prove how much interest she took in literature. Piero and she had selected, as tutor for their son Lorenzo, Gentile of Urbino, afterwards Bishop of Arezzo. He was succeeded by Cristoforo Landino; and Argyropulus, a learned Hellenist who had taken refuge at Florence after the fall of Constantinople, taught the boy Greek and the philosophy of Aristotle. Marcilio Ficino, the friend of his father and the son of his grandfather's physician, instructed him in the doctrines of Plato.

The precocity of Lorenzo had struck every one, and at the age of sixteen he was so intimately versed in political affairs that he was deemed ripe for a diplomatic mission. He was first sent to Pisa, to receive Frederick, son of Ferdinand King of Naples; then to Rome, where Pope Paul II. took a great fancy to him; to Bologna, in order to strengthen the ancient alliance between Florence and the Bentivoglios; to Ferrara, in order to gain over the Este family; to Milan, where he stood godfather to a son of Duke Galeazzo Sforza; and to Venice, where he kept himself informed as to the doings of the Republic, which was always ready to take hostile action against Florence. In 1466 a conspiracy formed against him and his father, who was to have been put to death while being carried in his litter from Careggi to Florence, was discovered and crushed, some assert through the vigilance of Lorenzo. Acciaiuoli and Diotisalvi Ne-

roni at once fled, and the rest of the conspirators being exiled, fined, or admonished, the Medicean party was left in complete power. On the death of Piero there followed a comparatively peaceful epoch of development for arts and literature. Lorenzo was at the head of this movement, forming his magnificent collections and founding libraries. Always surrounded by the leading personages of the time, he devoted all his leisure to literary pursuits, and it was at this period that he carried on those discussions in the woods of the Camaldulæ with Cristoforo Landino, Rinuceini, the two Acciajoli, Leo Battista Alberti, and Marcilio Ficino, anent the charms of a contemplative life, which gave rise to the *Disputationes Camaldulenses* of Landino.

Full of enthusiasm for literature, Lorenzo was himself the author of numerous sonnets, odes, religious and other poems of sufficient merit to place him among the foremost poetical writers of his day. His *Canti Carnavaleschi* are sometimes called the earliest examples of the modern satire in the Italian language. He was very partial to what were then called "triumphal displays," the various tableaux in which were designed by himself, and the execution intrusted to the greatest artists of the day. No pains were spared to make these fleeting representations, in which antiquity was revived for an hour, as perfect as possible. The painters decorated the chariots and designed the costumes, the sculptors had the modelling



of the groups, horses were caparisoned in the skins of lions, tigers, or elephants, beautiful women were adorned with the emblems of the pagan divinities, and poets commented on these compositions, and described the figures in the triumphal processions. Parts in it were taken by such men as Alemanni, Ruccelai, and Nardi; and a Medici or a Strozzi would spend fabulous sums in converting his fancy into reality for an hour. The corporations, at that time so powerful, united in the effort to make these "triumphs" succeed, and men learned in antiquity, like Politian and Marcilio Ficino, were asked to do their part towards gratifying the partiality of the Florentine people for these allegories.

I have searched in vain for some pictorial record of the wonderful fêtes given by the Medici and other wealthy citizens of their day; but the art of engraving, by which they might have been preserved to us, was not then in existence. It was not until the close of the fifteenth century that a few painters, whose very names have been forgotten, began to reproduce on canvas contemporaneous events; these pictures, which enable us to form an accurate idea of the costumes and festivals of the time, and of Florentine life in the fifteenth century, being very scarce. It is only in Paolo Ucello, or upon the marriage caskets, of which South Kensington Museum possesses a fine collection, that we catch a few glimpses of what public and private life was at that period. We know by

a casket in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence what an aristocratic wedding was like, and the frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Riccardi Palace enable us to form an opinion of the deportment of the day ; but a plastic record of life in Florence anterior to 1450 is rarely to be met with. The only insight into the inner ways of the inhabitants is that which is to be gained from the manuscripts of the beginning of the century, the embossed reliefs on caskets, and a few rare specimens of contemporary art. With these exceptions all is antique. Piero della Francesca, Pisanello, Pollaiuolo, Paolo Ucello, Benozzo Gozzoli, and Matteo da Pasti have recorded with chisel, pen, or brush some incidents of every-day life, trifling at that time, but of surpassing interest now ; and this is all we know. Botticelli, Lippi, and Memmi, engrossed in allegorical studies, tell us nothing of their own time, closely as their style is identified with it.

We are more fortunate as regards literature, though without illustrations to accompany them the many narratives of these contemporary writers carry little meaning with them, interesting as are the works of Boccaccio, Francesco Sacchetti, Jacobo Passavanti, Giovanni Villani, Poggio Bracciolini, and Niccolo Niccoli.

The sixteenth century abounds in documents, and there are as many as twenty illustrated works representing festivals and "triumphs." Yet, interesting as these are, they have not the raciness of the fif-







teenth century, and one cannot help regretting that it is impossible to convey a precise idea of the singular customs which then prevailed.

The narrative of a Florentine triumph, designed by Andrea Dazzi—reader of Greek and Latin to the academy of the city—the cost of which was borne by the Del Diamante Company, is still extant. Dazzi suggested three chariots representing Youth, Manhood, and Old Age. The artists who designed the chariots were Raffaello delle Vivole, La Carota, and Andrea del Sarto; while the costumes and figures were designed by Piero da Vinci, the father of Leonardo, and Bernardino di Giordano. The first chariot bore the motto: “We shall be;” the second, “We are;” the third, “We have been.”

Lorenzo the Magnificent, like all the citizens of that day, belonged to a corporation; he was president of his, the “Broncone,” and he commissioned Japo Nardi, a very learned man, to design him six chariots, so that the festival might be a more imposing one.

Pontormo was the painter who executed this design. The first chariot, drawn by oxen, represented the Golden Age with Saturn, Janus, the double-faced, seated in front of the Temple of War, the door of which was closed, holding the key of the temple, and trampling Discord under foot; then came semi-nude shepherds crowned with flowers, mounted on tigers and lions. Then came Numa carrying the religious

books, all the orders of priesthood, the augurs, the haruspices, and all the pagan liturgy, with the material for offering up sacrifices.

Titus Manlius Torquatus followed upon a triumphal car drawn by eight horses, preceded by senators with lictors and fasces. Behind him Julius Cæsar triumphant, in a car drawn by elephants, surrounded by all the imperial court, and followed by the peoples whom he had vanquished. Cæsar Augustus represented in the cortège the "Triumph of the Poets," some of whom, crowned with laurel and mounted upon winged horses, personified their native province, while each carried the works he had composed. The sixth car was that of the Emperor Trajan, accompanied by the doctors of the law and the imperial legislators. The car of the Golden Age, carved by Baccio Bandinelli, brought up the rear. Lastly, upon a golden terrestrial sphere, a figure representing Discord was writhing in convulsions; while a naked infant, glittering with gold, represented the Youth of the renascent Golden Age. The chronicler adds that this beautiful child, the son of a baker, who had doubtless served as a model for some of Donatello's and Desiderio da Settignano's sculptures on the tombs in Santa Croce, caught cold and died soon afterwards.

Upon another occasion Lorenzo the Magnificent celebrated the "Triumph of Bacchus;" but the only description of this masquerade we have is the lines which he composed for the occasion, his theme being,

“Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.” The *canti carnavaleschi* of that day, it may be stated, were very often full of buffoonery and ribaldry.

The Florentine people were never tired of these festivals, and every variety of subject was brought into requisition. On one occasion a group of artists, who were in a gloomy vein, after having celebrated the “Triumph of Life,” determined to represent the “Triumph of Death.” In the midst of the carnival, when all was joy and mirth, and the streets and balconies were filled with eager spectators, a chariot, painted black, with death’s heads and cross-bones picked out in white, and drawn by black buffaloes, was paraded through the streets, a black skeleton, with a scythe in its bony hands, being enthroned upon coffins. The chariot halted at each street corner, and a suite of mourners and lugubrious phantom figures chanted in a mournful key to the accompaniment of funeral trumpets :

“Fummo gia come voi siete :  
Voi sarete come noi :  
Morti siam come vedete :  
Così morti vedrem voi.”

“We were as you are, you will be as we are ; and as you see us dead, so shall we see you dead.” It may easily be imagined what consternation and terror this caused the timid women and children in the crowd, while the more sceptical indulged in sinister jokes.

Vasari has given a long description of this singular device, the invention of which he ascribes to Piero de' Medici, the father of Lorenzo. It was Pontormo, once more, who was commissioned to design the chariot, which, in order to lend more reality to the scene, was followed by a number of men (supposed to be dead) on horseback, the leanest and the most cadaverous-looking that could be found having been selected for the occasion. These were followed by naked mutes, carrying a torch in one hand, and in the other a large standard with skull and cross-bones.

Vasari was himself intrusted with the preparations for another "triumph," all the details of which, including the monuments and temporary altars, the chariots, the allegorical figures and the dresses, were designed by him. All his original drawings have been preserved in an album, which is in the print-room of the Uffizi Gallery, where I recently examined it in the company of Chevalier Carlo Pini, the librarian, whose premature death has been so universally regretted. Lorenzo was unquestionably the greatest of the Medici family, the true Mæcenas of his day, and even before the "Principato," when only called as first citizen to fill a post from which he could at any moment be displaced, he put himself at the head of the intellectual movement, and became the centre and the protector of art and literature. He was the intimate friend of Donatello and Michelozzo Michelozzi, and by their advice formed unrivalled collec-

tions of pictures, statuary, antique stones, gems, goldsmith's work, and sumptuous furniture, fitting out the Riccardi Palace with the most valuable and most perfect specimens of each. Every article in this collection bore either his arms or his initials. There are porphyry vases now in the possession of Baron Davilliers of Paris which unquestionably formed part of it.

Passionately fond of architecture, Lorenzo worked himself with the most noted architects of his day, and they always found his opinions worth listening to. He was equally zealous in the cause of literature, and founded, first at San Marco and afterwards at San Lorenzo, a school of copyists, whose duty it was to reproduce ancient manuscripts. The Laurentian Library, designed by Michael Angelo, and added to by Vasari, is a witness to the zeal of the Medici for the advancement of learning.

Lorenzo spared no effort to gather around him learned men of all countries. He reopened the University of Pisa, paid the professors, took upon himself the cost of additional buildings, provided them with books, and dispatched Giovanni Lascari to the East with an unlimited credit to make fresh purchases. It was a plain citizen who did all this, and it seemed as if the whole of Florence was centred in his person. Strange to say, ambassadors were accredited to him as to a sovereign, even when he was only an individual member of the Council of State;



and a hundred different circumstances combined to increase his personal authority, which made itself felt as a mere matter of course. The Emperor of Germany; King John II. of Portugal; that great patron of literature, Matthias Corvin; and Louis XI. himself, that astute politician and prince, who paved the way for French unity by his abasement of the feudal lords, corresponded with him, it may be said, as with an equal, for he received, without any intermediary, their ambassadors and their messages. I have examined, in the State archives of Florence, all the letters which go to make up the Medici *Carteggio* before and after the "Principato," and it is most instructive to see in what familiar terms the highest personages in human history carried on discussions with a private individual.

The historian Guicciardini has left a description of Florence in the prosperous year of 1490, when the city, in the enjoyment of peace under the tranquil rule of Lorenzo, seemed to have reached the summit of its splendor. He depicts Tuscany as being enriched from mountain, to valley and plain by the peaceful and orderly labor of its prosperous inhabitants; the State as being calm in the knowledge of its strength, in no fear of servitude either from Rome or the Empire, and successful in attaching to itself those neighboring cities which were formerly hostile and independent; princes as coming from all parts of the world to visit the city and do homage to the



Medici and the eminent citizens who were gathered around them ; and the extraordinary advance of civilization in every department of the national life. He depicts for us a people supple, skilful, well gifted, and so devoted to art that each street was a museum in itself, and a class of artists who had an inborn taste like the Athenians in the time of Pericles, and who seemed able to create without bodily fatigue or mental effort marvels which move and fascinate us even now. And there can be no doubt that this unparalleled prosperity was due to Lorenzo de' Medici, who carried on the work of his ancestor Cosimo, the peacemaker of Italy and the moderator of the Republic.

PRIVATE LIFE OF LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.

It is interesting to investigate the character in private life of this remarkable man. His intimates and associates at Careggi and Camalduli have given him his place in history, and Politian asserts that none of them were his superiors as regards subtlety of argument and soundness of judgment. He was somewhat caustic, it has been said, and his epigrams have remained famous ; but, with all his undisputed authority, he was endowed with a generosity which impelled him to make future provision for the many gifted men who, absorbed by intellectual work, had failed to put by anything for their old age. He has been accused of being a devotee of pleasure, of acting a double part—of being, that is, very austere in his public

capacity and a pleasure-seeker in private, though able at a moment's notice to revert to business. His father had married him while still very young to Clarice Orsini, of an illustrious Roman family, and the ceremony was performed on the 4th of June, 1469. The marriage was not one of the heart, for Lorenzo recorded it as follows in his diary: "I, Lorenzo, have taken in marriage Clarice, daughter of Jacob Orsini; or rather, she was given to me in marriage, and the wedding was celebrated in our house on the 4th of June, 1469." But this coldness was soon changed into a lasting and perhaps passionate affection, for on the 22d of July the same year he writes to her from Milan, "I am doing all I can to hasten my return. It seems as though we had been separated a thousand years."

Clarice bore him four daughters and three sons: Peter, born in 1471; John, in 1475; and Julian, in 1478. Their education was confided to the famous Politian, to whom he gave a very handsome villa at Fiesole. The last named, in his correspondence, gives a flattering description of this residence, and in writing to Marcilio Ficino, who was at the foot of the hill with Lorenzo at Careggi, he asks him to come up to Fiesole, and as an inducement says that he can give him some capital wine from his own vineyard.

Clarice Orsini died so suddenly in 1488 that Lorenzo was prevented from being present when she drew her

last breath, but he seems to have felt her loss very much. Less fortunate in his own affairs than in public life, Lorenzo, far from increasing his fortune, lost a great part of it. In the first place, he acquired the surname of Magnifico from the profusion with which he spent money for the encouragement of art and architecture; and though his ministers and stewards ought, by the exercise of care, to have made good his losses, they only widened the breach, and the time came when Florence, out of gratitude to the most illustrious of her children, was obliged to assist him. Lorenzo then made a thorough change in the conduct of his affairs, and instead of investing what little remained to him in commercial speculations, he purchased land and founded agricultural colonies in the districts of Prato, Pisa, and Val di Pesa, which brought in a more certain income than that derived from commerce. In 1480 Lorenzo succeeded in establishing a Council in which the absolute power of the Commonwealth was concentrated. It was composed of seventy citizens appointed for life and all completely under his influence, so that from henceforth he held undisputed sway over Florence.

I have said nothing about the most formidable, though not the only conspiracy hatched against him—that of the Pazzi, which broke out on the 26th of April, 1478, in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, and cost his brother Giuliano his life. Battista Frescobaldi likewise made an attempt on his life in the

Carmine Church; and Baldinetto da Pistoia tried to assassinate him in a villa outside of Florence. Lorenzo was once wounded, but the would-be assassins all paid the penalty of their crimes.

He was, however, such a sufferer from gout, that at the age of forty his health broke down, and he lived but a few years longer. Politian, describing his last moments, says that all the nerves were shattered, and that the seat of the mischief was in the intestines. Lorenzo was taken ill at Florence, but he had himself carried to the Careggi villa, where all his friends gathered about him and entertained him with their clever talk.

It is said that among the last visitors to his bedside was one whose name was already becoming famous throughout Italy. This was Girolamo Savonarola; and there are two very opposite accounts—one by Burlamaehi and the other by Politian—of what passed at the interview between Lorenzo and the fierce monk. Burlamachi asserts that Lorenzo humbly asked the father's absolution for three faults for which he felt great remorse.

The first was the sack of Volterra, whose women and children were cruelly used by the soldiers, for which he was responsible, as he had promised that their lives should be spared. The second was his having appropriated the marriage portions of the young girls, to which act must be ascribed the going astray of many women who were thus thrown with-

out resource on the world. The third fault was the reprisals made after the Pazzi conspiracy, by which many innocent persons were put to death.

Savonarola reminded the dying man of the inexhaustible mercy of God, but insisted upon his making amends for each of these faults as far as possible, to which Lorenzo agreed. Before leaving, however, he declared that in order to obtain the divine favor, Lorenzo must restore to Florence her lost liberty and re-establish popular government; whereupon, according to Burlamachi, the sick man turned over on his bed and refused to hear any more.

Politian's account is very different. According to him, Lorenzo, feeling his end to be near, sent for a priest and confessed to him. The priest—who had been sent for, instead of coming of his own accord, as Burlamachi asserts—said, on leaving the sick chamber, that he had never seen a dying man show so much courage, presence of mind, and clearness of intellect. At nightfall the holy sacrament was brought, and Lorenzo rose to receive it; having taken it on his knees, he went back to bed and spoke a few words of encouragement to his son Piero, who was the only person with him. One Piero Leori, a celebrated doctor of that day, who had been sent for at the last moment, came in just afterwards, and, according to Politian, asked for some precious stones, which he wanted to pulverize and mix with a potion.

Politian administered the medicine, and Lorenzo, recognizing his voice, said, "What, is that you, dear Angiolo?" pressing him to his bosom. Politian was obliged to go out of the room to give free course to his grief, and on his return Lorenzo again noticed him and asked after Pico della Mirandola. He insisted on his being sent for, and Lorenzo, clasping him to his breast, declared that he should "die happier for having seen such a dear friend. I only wish that I could have lived to complete our library." Savonarola then came in, and Politian makes no allusion to any recriminations, speaking of the monk as if he had been gentle and forbearing, and saying that when he left he gave them all his benediction.\* The room gradually became crowded, and while all the others were overcome Lorenzo remained perfectly calm. When his medicine was administered, and he was asked if it was pleasant to the taste, he replied, "As pleasant as anything can be to a dying man." He died with his eyes fastened on the crucifix, and Politian speaks in glowing terms of his liberality and magnificence, of his constancy in adversity, and of his modesty in good fortune.

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\* Even Politian does not say, however, that Savonarola pronounced absolution. Prof. Pasquale Villari considers that the account given by Burlamachi is the true one, and cites a number of authorities in support of this opinion. See "Hist. of Girolamo Savonarola and of His Times." By Pasquale Villari. Book I., Ch. IX. Note.









## GIULIANO DE' MEDICI.

(1453-1478.)

## THE PAZZI CONSPIRACY.

Assassinated in cold blood at Santa Maria del Fiore when only five-and-twenty, Giuliano was, like Lorenzo, a son of Piero il Gottoso; and he, too, was born to command. Like all who die young, he leaves behind him kindly recollections, and Politian gives the following sketch of him: "He was tall, with broad shoulders, a well-developed chest, strong, muscular; well built on his legs, and endowed with more physical power than a man can need. His eyes were a deep black, his complexion very dark, like his hair, which he wore brushed back from the temples. A fine horseman and a good shot, he was also an adept at gymnastics and all kinds of games, while, in gratifying his fondness for the chase, he did not know what fatigue and hunger meant. He was high-minded and firm in his judgment, with an instinctive fondness for all that was elegant, and a decided taste for poetry. He has left behind a few verses in the vulgar tongue on grave subjects, but light literature formed his favorite reading. Very ready-witted, extremely urbane, and with an unmitigated contempt for falsehood, he did not readily forget an injury. He was particular as to his dress, but not to the extent of being a fop. He had a manly carriage, and, while full of respect for his elders, was very considerate to

those beneath him. All these qualities made him a general favorite, and his death was looked upon as a public calamity."

It is said that some days after the conspiracy which put an end to his life, one of his most intimate friends, Antonio de San Gallo, went to Lorenzo the Magnificent, and made a confession to him. Giuliano had formed a liaison with a young girl of the Gorini family, by whom he had had a son. Lorenzo, after having received his evidence and ascertained the truth of it, took this child under his care, and he afterwards became Pope Clement VII. There is not in the whole history of Florence a more dramatic episode than that which is known by the name of "the Conspiracy of the Pazzi." We have two contemporary narratives which are historic landmarks: one in Latin, written by Angelo Politian, the other in the vulgar tongue by Machiavelli. Dandolo, in his splendid essays on "Florence down to the Fall of the Republic," declares that Machiavelli's narrative is spoilt by the tone of spite that underruns it all, whilst Politian's, on the other hand, bears the impress of favoritism. In Machiavelli the facts are perhaps more clearly set forth, and he it is whom I have taken for my authority. I now give the true causes of the conspiracy, according to Machiavelli, which, in 1478, nearly cost Lorenzo de' Medici his life. Pope Sixtus IV., angry with the Medici for the assistance they had lent to Nicolo Vitelli and other barons of the Romagna, had

taken from Lorenzo the charge of the treasure of the Holy See in order to invest it in the hands of a certain Pazzi, a man of a noble Florentine family, of good position, and owner of a bank at Rome. This Pazzi was the last survivor of three brothers who had left children. One—Guglielmo—had espoused Bianea, the sister of Lorenzo de' Medici; Francesco, the other nephew, had for some years lived at Rome; while Giovanni, the third, had chosen as his wife the daughter of Buonromei, a man of immense wealth, of whom she was the sole heiress. All this fortune would then in the course of things come to Giovanni's wife, but a relative appearing upon the scene claimed a share of the property.

A lawsuit followed, and the daughter of Buonromei lost all that she had inherited from her father; and the Pazzi detected in this decision the influence of the Medici, Giuliano himself expressing to his brother Lorenzo the fear that by grasping at too much they would lose all. Lorenzo, however (we must remember that it is Machiavelli who is speaking), elated with youth and power, imagined that he might do what he pleased; while the Pazzi, on the other hand, strong in the possession of wealth and a high social position, were fully determined not to put up with so gross an injustice, and sought means for a speedy vengeance. The first to act in the matter was Francesco, by far the most energetic and sensitive member of the family. He declared that he was

determined to recover that which he had already lost or else to lose all. He passed nearly all his time at Rome, out of hatred to the Florentine Government, and whilst there contracted a close alliance with Girolamo, Count of Riario, the Pope's nephew. They interchanged confidences on the subject of their mutual animosity against the Medici, till they began to conspire and think out by what means they could change the form of government. The conclusion they arrived at was dramatic: the death of Giuliano and Lorenzo alone would enable them to arrive at their end. They did not doubt but that the Holy Father would lend his aid, provided, however, it was made clear to him that the end was well defined and easy of accomplishment. They next confided their scheme to Francesco Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, an ambitious prelate, who had suffered much at the hands of the Medici family. Salviati readily joined the conspiracy; but they had a far more difficult task in enlisting the services of Jacopo di Pazzi. This was, however, finally accomplished, and another Jacopo, son of the celebrated Poggio, two others of the Salviati—the one a brother and the other a connection of the Archbishop, Bernardo Bandini, and Napoleone Franzesi, energetic, young, courageous, and devoted to the Pazzi, joined, as also did Giovanni Battista da Montesecco, Condottiere in the Papal service, together with Antonio da Volterra and a priest named Stefano. Rinato de' Pazzi, an able and thoughtful man, who

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foresaw the dangers of such an enterprise, refused to listen, and did all he could to dissuade them from their project. The Pope had placed Raffaello Riario, a nephew of Count Girolamo, at the college of Pisa, and whilst there he was promoted to the Cardinalate. The conspirators invited the Cardinal to come to Florence, with the idea that his arrival would serve as a screen to the execution of their project. The Cardinal did in fact arrive, and was received by Jacopo de' Pazzi. The first suggestion was to get rid of the Medici during the visit that they would no doubt pay to the illustrious stranger, but they failed to put in an appearance. It was next proposed to give a banquet on Sunday, April 26, 1478, and assassinate the two brothers at table, but hearing that they would not be there, another plan had to be hastily substituted. They would kill them even in the cathedral, where they could hardly fail to be present at divine service on the occasion of the attendance of Riario. Lorenzo was assigned to Montesecco, while Francesco de' Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini were to attack Giuliano. Montesecco, however, rejected this arrangement at once, on the ground that he had not sufficient courage to commit so great an act of sacrilege in a church. This was one of the causes of the failure of the enterprise. There was no time to lose, and there was no other course than to leave the business of assassinating Lorenzo to Antonio da Volterra and the priest Stefano, both equally incapable and

spiritless men. This decision once arrived at, the moment of the elevation of the Host was fixed on as the signal.

After the death of the Medici the Archbishop and Poggio were to occupy the palace, where the Signoria, either of their own free-will or by force, were expected to give in their adherence to the conspirators. The hour has arrived; we are in the temple with the thronging multitude. The divine service has commenced, but Giuliano is not here. Francesco and Bernardo, who are to assassinate him, go to his house in search of him. How deeply must their murderous intention have sunk into their minds when they could go and seek out their victim in his own palace, and bring him to the place of execution! It is even said that Francesco, feigning symptoms of the greatest affection, felt his enemy in order to make sure that he did not wear a coat of mail. At the church they took up their positions on the right and left of Giuliano, and when the moment arrived Bandini, with one vigorous blow, ran him through the breast. The victim only made a few steps forward, and then fell dead. Francesco threw himself on the body, and striking blindly and madly, inflicted on himself a deep wound. From the other side Antonio and Stefano attacked Lorenzo. They only succeeded, however, in inflicting a slight wound in the neck. He defended himself with vigor, assisted by those who surrounded him. Bandini, however, with his knife stained with Giuliano's blood,



then turned his weapon against Lorenzo, and finding Francesco Nori, a creature of the Medici, in his way, felled him with one blow. On this the partisans of the Medici surrounded Lorenzo and hurried him into the sacristy, when Poligiano closed the bronze doors. As it was thought probable that Stefano's blade had been poisoned, a young man in the sacristy itself offered to suck Lorenzo's wound. A general terror and consternation prevailed in the church. As soon as the news spread through the city, the citizens came in arms to escort Lorenzo to his palace, avoiding the route taken by those who were carrying his brother's corpse. Salviati, however, accompanied by a band of thirty, had already arrived to occupy the palace, and, leaving most of his companions in the antechamber, entered the hall where the Gonfaloniere was sitting. But his expression and agitated manner at once aroused the magistrate's suspicion, and the latter, rushing from the hall, encountered Poggio, whom he seized by the hair and put under arrest. Those present protesting, their arms were taken away, and all those who had accompanied Salviati upstairs were either killed or thrown out of the windows. The Archbishop, the two Salviati, and Poggio were hung. The others, who had remained below, had forced the guard and installed themselves in the ground-floor, so that the citizens who had congregated at the sound of such an uproar could afford no aid to the Signoria. Meanwhile Francesco de' Pazzi and

Bandini had had time to consider matters, and seeing the failure of the plot, the latter took to flight, whilst the former was for making one last effort. Wounded though he was, he yet mounted his horse and tried to rally the people to him in the name of liberty ; but the blood he had lost soon rendered him incapable of action. He was compelled to lie down on a couch, bidding Jacopo take his place. Aged and feeble as the latter was, he mounted his horse to make a last attempt, and entering the square, summoned the people to his aid in the name of liberty—a word that had long since become meaningless in Florence. No one joined him, and the only answer to his appeal was a shower of stones from the Signoria, confined in the upper story of the palace. Jacopo was now in despair, and seeing that the people were opposed to him, that Lorenzo was alive, Francesco wounded, and the attempt hopelessly frustrated, he tried to save his own life. Followed by a few men, he escaped from Florence in the direction of the Romagna.

Meanwhile the whole town had flown to arms. The old palace was soon retaken, and nearly all the conspirators were captured or put to death. Francesco was dragged naked from his bed, and hung by the feet alongside the Archbishop. The only one of the Pazzi whose life was spared—and that through the intercession of his wife—was Guglielmo, the brother-in-law of Lorenzo. Rinato, who had re-



fused to join in the conspiracy, had withdrawn to his villa, but while attempting to escape in disguise was discovered and brought back. Jacopo was arrested when crossing the Apennines by some of the inhabitants of those parts, who, despite his prayers, refused to kill him, but conducted him back to Florence, where he was condemned to death in company with Rinato. Four days later his body was taken from the family vault in which it had been buried and thrown into a ditch outside the city walls; from thence it was disinterred afresh, dragged through the city, and thrown into the Arno.

He was a man of vicious habits, but his charitable deeds had made him very popular. On the Saturday before the conspiracy he paid all his debts, settled his accounts, and took care that no claim should be left outstanding. Montesecco was beheaded, and Napoleone Francesci only escaped the same fate by flight. Bandini never halted till he had crossed the frontier into the Turkish states, but the Sultan handed him over to the Florentines, who put him to death in the following year. Guglielmo de' Pazzi was banished, and his cousins imprisoned for life in the tower of Volterra. When all the conspirators had been tried the obsequies of Giuliano were celebrated with great pomp. He left a natural son named Giulio, for whom, as Pope Clement VII., the highest honors and the deepest calamities were in store.

To perpetuate the recollection of this event Botti-

celli was commissioned to paint the effigies of all the conspirators upon the façade of the palace of the Podestà, now called the Bargello, which faces on Via Ghibellina, just as the enemies of Cosimo the Elder, grandfather of Lorenzo and Giuliano, had been represented there by Andrea del Castagno, hung by their feet, a circumstance to which the painter owed his nickname of "Andrea degli Impiccati" (Andrea of the hanged men). This extraordinary painting, which would be of priceless value now, was destroyed in the course of the many restorations of the Bargello. Orsini, a skilful modeller in wax, made, with the help of Verrocchio, three life-size figures, representing Lorenzo defending himself against his assassins, but they, too, have disappeared.

We possess, however, a medallion by that gifted artist Antonio Pollaiuolo, representing on one side the murder of Giuliano, with the choir of Santa Maria del Fiore at the moment of the elevation of the Host, and the profile of the victim with his name, *JVLIANVS MEDICES*, and the inscription *LVCTVS PVBLICVS*, while on the reverse is the same choir, and in the foreground Lorenzo escaping from the daggers of the assassins, and above the profile of Lorenzo, with his name, *LAVRENTIVS MEDICES*, and the inscription *SALVS PVBLICA*.

This is the more interesting historically as showing what, in the time of Cosimo the Elder and Lorenzo, was the shape of the original choir built by Arnolfo.





THE THREE SONS OF LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT  
AND THE RETURN OF THE MEDICI.

PIETRO  
(1471-1503).

GIOVANNI  
(1475-1521).

GIULIANO II.  
(1478-1516).

Having consolidated his fortune by attention to agriculture, Lorenzo left his son Pietro in a very comfortable position, but the latter soon embarked upon a career of pleasure and took little interest in the affairs of State. At the same time he was rather despotic in his views, and attempted to govern independently of the Signoria.

The death of Lorenzo had placed Ludovico Sforza, uncle of the nominally reigning Duke of Milan, in a very precarious position; he accordingly invited King Charles VIII. of France to interfere in Italian affairs, and the latter, entering Lombardy with upwards of thirty thousand soldiers, advanced upon the Tuscan frontier. Pietro de' Medici, remembering the brilliant part played by his grandfather under similar circumstances, imagined that he could achieve a like success, and accordingly, without consulting the Signoria, set forth, a self-appointed ambassador, to the French camp. Charles received him with much courtesy, but asked for some guarantee of his good faith, whereupon the weak-minded Pietro actually ceded to him the fortresses of Sarzana, Sarzanello, Pietra Santa, Leghorn, Librafatta, and Pisa.

Great was the indignation in Florence when this ignoble transaction became known. The Signoria

made no attempt to disguise their displeasure, ~~when~~ the people assembled beneath the balconies of the Medici Palace uttering loud complaints and threats. An accredited embassy, headed by Savonarola, was at once dispatched to Charles's camp, but even the eloquence of the fiery monk could not avail to undo the mischief. On their return to Florence Picro Capponi induced the people to rise in revolt against the Medician tyranny. Pietro took flight, going first to Bologna, where Bentivoglio accorded him a very cool welcome, and from thence to Venice, where, his reception being likewise far from friendly, he deemed it safer to withdraw for a time at least, from society and lead as retired a life as possible.

On the 17th of November, 1494, the King entered Florence and took up his residence in the Medician palace. Negotiations were now opened, but Charles found his haughty demands resisted with so much spirit and determination by Capponi and Savonarola that he judged it more prudent to modify them. An agreement was finally reached by which Florence undertook to pay a fine of 120,000 gold florins, 50,000 to be paid at once and the remaining 70,000 at an early date; and shortly afterwards the King withdrew with his forces.

It was upon this occasion that the Medici Palace was first sacked, the splendid collections formed by Cosimo, and added to by Piero and Lorenzo, being either destroyed or stolen.



After the departure of the French, Florence busied herself in establishing a new government, which, under the advice of Savonarola, took the form of a great council, composed of a thousand or more citizens.

The years that followed were stormy ones; the city was torn by factions, the rival parties only uniting in a common desire to regain possession of Pisa. In 1497 Pietro de' Medici made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the city with an armed following. He subsequently took service under Louis XII., and was drowned by the upsetting of a boat loaded with artillery on the river Garigliano, together with some of the King's suite. He was only thirty-two years of age, and his wretched existence and miserable end are in striking contrast with the life and death of his father.

By the year 1502 affairs had reached such a pass in Florence that it was felt by all that some change was imperatively demanded, and in August of that year Pietro Soderini was appointed to the office of Gonfaloniere for life instead of two months, the usual term, his unblemished character and the fact of his having no children to awaken ambitious designs in his breast, being the reasons adduced for bestowing this important office upon him.

But that warlike Pontiff, Julius II., had other views for Florence, and exasperated at the manner in which the Republic had withheld any active assistance in his war with the French, and her refusal to depose Soderini and reinstate the Medici, he now determined

to accomplish his ends by force. On the 21st of August, 1512, the alarming news reached Florence that the Viceroy Raymond de Cordova was advancing with a large army, and accompanied by the Medici. On the 29th he took Prato by assault, and there was a renewal of all the horrors of Brescia. News of this disaster reached Florence in the middle of the night. Soderini fled, an act that has been stigmatized by Machiavelli in four well-known lines. Ambassadors were dispatched to treat with the Viceroy and Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, and an agreement was entered into that Florence should pay a hundred and forty thousand ducats and admit the Medici "as private citizens"—an airy subterfuge that probably deceived no one. By the middle of September Giuliano had assumed the conduct of affairs with as much assurance as though the right to govern were hereditary and Florence a fief of the Medici family, though he so far kept up an appearance of popular government as to go through the form of consulting the *Balià*, a council formed of forty-eight citizens, almost all of them creatures or clients of his own.

On the death of Julius II. Giovanni de' Medici was elected Pope under the title of Leo X., and Giuliano removed to Rome, where he was made Gonfaloniere of the Church and Captain-General of the Papal forces, leaving his nephew, Lorenzo, son of Pietro, to govern Florence.



Giuliano de' Mediei had married, a year before his death, Philiberta, the sister of Philibert and Charles, Dukes of Savoy, but he left no issue by her, though he was known to have had one illegitimate son, Cardinal Hippolytus, of whom several portraits by Titian are still extant.

Giuliano had received from François I. the duchy of Nemours, which at his death reverted to the French crown. He was not an unworthy representative of the Medici as regarded cultivation and intellect, and when in exile at the Court of Urbino he availed himself of the opportunity to establish an intimacy with the brilliant residents in the Montefeltro capital. The celebrated Cardinal Bembo introduces him as one of the speakers in his dialogues on the idiom of Tuscan. He died of fever, only seven-and-twenty years of age, on the 17th of May, 1516, in the abbey of the canons of Fiesole, which was built by his ancestor, and to which he asked to be carried when taken ill. His remains rest in the new sacristy of San Lorenzo, and he has been immortalized in marble by one of Michael Angelo's greatest works.

#### LORENZO II., DUKE OF URBINO.

(1492-1519.)

Pietro, drowned, as mentioned above, in the Garigliano, had married Alfonsina di Roberto Orsini, and left a son named Lorenzo, who is known in history by the title of Duke of Urbino, but he, like his uncle

Giuliano and most of the Medici family, died very young, being only seven-and-twenty. It has already been said that Giovanni, brother of Pietro, and a son, like him, of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had been elected Pope with the title of Leo X., and it was he who carried the cultivated tastes and the splendor of his family to Rome, and who gave his name to the century in which he lived, as his ancestors had in their day done in Tuscany. While he strengthened the influence of his family at Florence, Leo X. made Rome the centre of Italian politics. Having seized the duchy of Urbino, he invested the sovereignty of it in his nephew Lorenzo by a Papal Bull. This nephew was not deficient in courage nor in spirit, but his overweening pride and arrogance had excited the ill-will of the Florentines, while his claim to the throne which had been given him was from the outset disputed by Francesco della Rovere, the rightful prince.

He died young, leaving by his wife, Madeleine Jean de la Tour, daughter of the Count of Auvergne and of Boulogne-in-Picardy, no male heir, but a daughter, the sole legitimate descendant besides the Pope, of the elder branch of the Medici, who became Queen of France. This was Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henri II. and mother of three French kings and of a Queen of Spain.

The death of Lorenzo without a male heir led to a great revolution in the history of Florence. The elder branch of the Medici was practically extinct,

the two other branches were very jealous of each other, and all the ambitious projects which Leo X. had formed for his family seemed destined to be brought to nought. There remained, however, three illegitimate Medici of the branch of Cosimo the Elder. First there was Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano murdered in the Pazzi conspiracy; then Hippolytus, natural son of Giuliano, Due de Nemours; and Alexander, who was a son either of Lorenzo II. or of Giulio.

All three were destined to be famous, and they might all have claimed the succession, for we know that illegitimacy was not regarded in the fifteenth or sixteenth century as a bar to a throne. The first, Giulio, became Pope Clement VII.; the second, Hippolytus, rose to the purple; and Alexander was the first Duke of Florence.

It is singular that Michael Angelo should have immortalized by his genius the two least distinguished of the Medici, for while the graves of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Cosimo the Elder are merely covered with slabs upon which their names are graven, the Dukes of Urbino and Nemours sleep their last sleep in tombs erected by the great artist.

#### CARDINAL HIPPOLYTUS.

(1511-1535.)

Giulio, Cardinal de' Medici, when he became Clement VII., instead of attempting to transfer

power from one branch of the Medici to the other, and to exclude the natural sons, followed the example of John de' Medici (Leo X.), and as he had more faith in the ability of Hippolytus than in that of the others, he selected him to rule Florence, appointing Silvio Passerini, Cardinal de Cortona, to govern for him during his minority. Passerini failed to please the friends and enemies of the Medici alike. This was the period when the French king, on bad terms with Charles V., claimed the inheritance of the duchy of Milan. Rome was threatened by Charles V., and then invaded and sacked by the Constable of Bourbon, Clement VII. being imprisoned in his own castle of St. Angelo. On the 17th of May, 1527, the Florentines expelled the Medici for the third time, all their property being wrecked and destroyed. A brief period of liberty ensued for Florence, but with a fresh turn of events Clement made peace with his late enemies and a league was formed to reduce Florence and enforce the return of the Medici. The city was fortified by Michael Angelo, and held out for nearly a year against the imperial army under the Prince of Orange, being finally forced to capitulate through the treason of Malatesta. Hippolytus, seeing that Alexander was to be preferred before himself, made an attempt to forestall him and gain possession of Florence, but his plan was frustrated, and he was induced to return to Rome. He did not live long enough to profit much by the return of his family

to power, for he died when only four-and-twenty, and it was surmised that Duke Alexander had a hand in his death. Benedetto Varchi gives the following kindly description of him: "He was handsome and pleasant-looking, very well informed, full of grace and virtue, and affable to all men. He took more after the generous and benevolent disposition of Leo X. than after the avaricious and narrow-minded Clement VII. He liked to gather round him men distinguished in art, literature, and war, and he treated them very liberally. Having come into an income of four thousand ducats, he made a present of it to Franceseo Maria Nolz, a noble of Modena, who was very devoted to literature and a great linguist." He was scarcely fitted to be a cardinal, but when it was known that Alexander had been selected to assume power he made up his mind to follow the traditions of Leo X., and sustained the splendor of his uncle. He formed a suite, clad in brilliant armor, of Turks, Arabians, Tartars, and Indians, and got up jousts and tournaments. He had been a cardinal for three years when, after the Turks had made a raid up to the walls of Vienna, he was sent as legate to the Emperor of Germany. He made his entry into Vienna with all the pomp of royalty, and an escort of eight thousand horsemen, and it was upon this occasion that he donned a military costume, and continued to wear it after his return home. It was after this that Charles V. had an interview with the Pope

at Bologna, bringing a Hungarian escort with him. Titian was then at Bologna, and painted a portrait of the Emperor. He also painted two portraits of Hippolytus, who formed part of the Pope's suite, one in a Hungarian costume, and the other in that of an Italian warrior with the delicately wrought cuirass. Hippolytus headed the party in opposition to Duke Alexander, and resented so openly the accession to power of one whom he regarded as his rival that when he died at Itri in 1535 it was generally believed that he had met with foul play.

ALEXANDER DE' MEDICI,

FIRST DUKE OF FLORENCE.

(1510-1537.)

This brings us to the capture of Florence, which, bravely defended by the citizens, had been betrayed by Malatesta Baglione. Feruccio, the last hope of the Republic, had fallen, and a treaty was made with Gonzaga, the able captain who had succeeded the Prince of Orange in command of the Imperial troops. The conditions of the treaty were as follows: "A regular government to be established within a period of four months, it being always understood that liberty was to be preserved; the Medici to return, together with all who had been exiled in their cause; Florence to pay a ransom of 80,000 gold crowns."

Here, again, a pretence was made of respecting the legal independence of the Florentines. The partisans

of Clement VII. insisted upon the formation of a council of twelve citizens, and recognizing in Alexander, son of Lorenzo of Urbino, "high moral qualities, and recognizing, too, all the good done by his family," he was made a member of the Balìa, though a special clause excluded him from the supreme power. The Emperor, who had determined to substitute a monarchical for a popular form of government, would not agree to this, and he had Alexander, to whom he intended to marry his daughter, proclaimed chief of the State, with the title of Duke, with remainder to his heirs male in the direct line.

The celebrated bell, "Martinella," in the ducal palaces, which for two centuries had called the citizens to arms in defence of their liberties, sounded the knell of the Republic on the 26th of July, 1531, when Alexander entered the city amid the acclamations of his adherents.

Even this did not satisfy Clement VII., who was anxious that his nephew's authority should extend throughout Tuscany, and the reformers of the State which his orders and will had created changed the basis of government, suppressing both the Signoria and the Gonfaloniere, who was the representative of the people. All traces of communal liberties were destroyed, and Tuscany, together with Florence, became for once and all a monarchy.

Alexander was a man of considerable abilities, with the instincts of a statesman, a ready tongue, and a



good education. He was, however, as we know from the historians of his time, very dissipated in his habits; but for all that Tuscany might have been very happy under his rule if it had not been that the younger branch of the Medici were conspiring against what they deemed a usurpation. Alexander had only been five years on the throne when, on the 6th of January, 1536, Lorenzo, his cousin, a descendant of the rival branch, who had become his adviser as well as his companion in debauchery, inveigled him to come and see him about some love intrigue, and murdered him in his bed.

Duke Alexander had married Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of Charles V., and though he had no children by her, he had adopted a boy and a girl—Giulio and Giulia. He was the last Medici of the elder branch, and then came the turn of the younger branch, which was first represented in power by Cosimo I.

#### THE YOUNGER BRANCH OF THE MEDICI.

JOHN DE' MEDICI, SURNAMED OF "THE BLACK BAND."

The first of the Medici, Giovanni de Bicci, had left two sons, Cosimo surnamed the Elder, and Lorenzo, who were the founders of the family. Having given above the history of Cosimo's branch, I may resume that of the younger branch, which was called to power in the person of Cosimo I., after the murder of Alexander I., Duke of Florence. Lorenzo, brother



of Cosimo, was the father of Piero-Francesco (1431-1477), who was also assassinated; and Francesco left two sons, Lorenzo and John, and each of these two in turn had a son. Lorenzo's son bore the name of Lorenzo-Francesco, and his brother's that of John, the latter being the celebrated "John of the Black Band," who is the first notable character of the younger branch.

John deserves a biography, not less for his own individual merits than for the fact that he became the progenitor of princes—his son Cosimo becoming Cosimo I., Lord of Florence, and later on assuming the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, founder of the second branch of this dynasty. Though at baptism he received the name of Lodovico, he is known to history under the name of John, later on to become the famous captain so beloved by his troops.

His mother was Catherine Sforza, daughter of the famous Galeazo, Duke of Milan. His father died young, and the widow, cherishing his memory, resolved that in name at least her husband should live again in the person of her son. This warrior of the future experienced the very peculiar fortune of being brought up, till he became a young man, in female garb; his mother, in fact, surrounded by the snares and temptations of the Medici, entertained many fears for the life of her son and heir, and took the precaution of withdrawing him from the dangers of the world by immuring him in a convent. This young lady,

as she was supposed to be, naturally protested against the costume she was forced to adopt, and her dreams were of nothing but battles ; she was always organizing sieges and assaults, and gave great promise of immortalizing the name of the Medici. John made his *début* in arms under Leo X. in Lombardy.

He soon gained the titles of "Invincible" and the "Great Devil." The Republic sorely needed a valiant arm, and he was made captain. When the league was organized, he assumed the command in Lombardy, and passed, on the advice of Clement VII., into the service of Francis I. One day, near Borgoforte, whilst commanding his troops, he received a wound from a crossbow just below the knee, within an inch or so of the wound he had received a short time before at the ever-memorable battle of Pavia. The greatest hopes had been entertained concerning him, but death claimed him in his twenty-ninth year, cut off, like so many of the Medici, in the flower of life. He was a keen warrior, and of the most extraordinary personal valor ; in every skirmish he was eager to hazard his life, never allowing any one else to be beforehand where danger threatened. Till his time cavalry had always decided the fate of battles, and the Italian infantry, which was quite eclipsed by the Spanish foot-soldiers, considered at that time the finest in the world, occupied a very secondary position. John, however, had trained it to such a pitch that it became invincible, as the Spaniards ever found, and

he inspired his troops with feelings which might almost be termed fanatical. In the day of battle, and when the time arrived for distribution of booty, he ever left them the material advantages, and contented himself with the glory. He died at Mantua; on the day of his death, his troops, clothed in black, took for their ensign the funeral flag; and so posterity has known him under the name of "John of the Black Band."\* He had married one of the Salviati, by whom he had a son, who afterwards became Grand Duke of Tuscany under the name of Cosimo I.

## COSIMO I.

FIRST GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

(1519-1574.)

Cosimo was only seven years old at his father's death, and his youth was a very troubled one. Pope Clement VII., a Medici of the elder branch, looked upon him with suspicion as a competitor for the throne likely to press forward his claims to the detriment of the natural sons of the branch protected by the pontifical court. But his mother, Maria di Jacopo Salviati—a woman as full of prudence as she was of energy—watched over him with jealous care, sending him first to Venice with his tutor, and concealing him at her villa of Cafaggiolo or Trebbio, whence she brought

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\* "Le Bande Nere." His troops were so called on account of their black armor.

him back to Tuscany. Now and again she would spend several months with him in some secluded part of Italy, in the hope that the fact of his existence would be forgotten. Young Cosimo in time became as intelligent as his mother, and when Duke Alexander was selected by the Balìa to assume the reins of government, he unhesitatingly did him fealty, and took the position of an ordinary subject.

On the 6th of January, 1536, the Duke was murdered by Lorenzino, who, according to the treaty made by the Balìa with the Pope and the Emperor, should have succeeded him, as being his nearest relative; but the magisterial council declared him to be unfit, and elected Cosimo in his stead.

From the very first the position of Cosimo was a most difficult one. Threatened by Bologna on the one side, and Rome on the other; with the exiles (backed even, secretly, by Pope Paul himself) plotting from without, and a large portion of the citizens disaffected, the outlook in the beginning of the year 1537 was a gloomy one. Hostile factions were as implacable as ever, and the Strozzi were recruiting soldiers and hoping to profit by the disturbances which they were fomenting. Cosimo, however, kept a cool head, and learning in July that the exiles had entered Tuscany at the head of an armed force, he sent Vitelli to meet them. In the battle that ensued Cosimo gained a complete triumph, the enemy was routed, and Vitelli returned to Florence with his victorious troops and a

number of illustrious captives. Many of the latter were executed, and Filippo Strozzi having died in prison, either by his own hand or Cosimo's orders, the Duke remained in undisputed power.

Cosimo was not merely Duke of Florence, for he had subjugated the whole of Tuscany; and in order to consolidate his power and secure it from future attacks, he fortified nearly all the towns and strengthened the existing strongholds. The fortresses of San Martino at Mugello and of Terra del Sole date from his time. He gave many proofs of his courage and ability, and having captured Siena on St. Stephen's (the pope and martyr) day, he instituted an order of chivalry, and while conciliating the Court of Rome by his determined destruction of the Turkish vessels which infested the coast, he gained the favor of the nobles by conferring upon them this illustrious order.

His position thus consolidated, Cosimo I. was at leisure to foster the civilization of his subjects and the development of the arts, which flourished best in time of peace. He was very fond of literature, and studied almost daily the works of Tacitus, two of his first enterprises being the restoration of the Universities of Pisa and Siena. He established and endowed the Academy of Florence, and that of La Crusca which was already in existence he enlarged and enriched. It was during his reign that the art of printing was brought into general use at Florence, and he

had in his own palace a printing press, from which were turned out nearly all the works of Torrentino, so celebrated in the history of Florentine typography. He was something of a chemist, too, and is believed to have been among the seekers for the philosopher's stone, but he made several practical discoveries in his laboratory, including certain secrets for cutting precious stones and for dissolving metals by the use of oxides and herbs. In this he was only following the example of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who has been erroneously described as the restorer of the glyptic art in Italy. The Jubinal collection in Paris contains a very beautiful box of tools with the Medici arms, made beyond question in the first half of the sixteenth century, which was evidently used by Cosimo in his various experiments. It appears that he was very fond of experimenting on porphyry so as to make it soft enough for the chisels, and that for this purpose he steeped his tools in the juice of certain herbs. He confided his secret to Francesco Ferucci, alias Cecco del Taldia, who carved the porphyry statue of Justice which crowns the column on the Piazza della Santa Trinita. Cosimo was an unfailing patron of the artists who devoted their attention to the sculpture of marbles of different colors, in which the contrast of color brought the work into special relief. Francesco Ferucci carved for him four medallion figures, which are still to be seen in the Uffizi Gallery, and Benvenuto Cellini, who did



a great deal of work for him, used porphyry for the handsome bust after the antique in which the features of the Grand Duke are preserved to us. This was not, unfortunately, the greatest epoch in Florentine history. Art was already beginning to decay, and with the exception of Giovanni da Bologna and Cellini, it had no better representatives than Baccio Bandinelli, Tribolo, Ammanati, and Vincenzio Danti. Donatello, Benedetto da Maiano, Desiderio, and Mino had been dead for more than a century, and Vasari was the most prominent of the architects, but the epoch was none the less a remarkable one, being, so to speak, the last flicker of the flame which had cast so vivid a light over the whole of Italy.

It was Cosimo I., or rather his wife, who purchased from the Pitti family the celebrated palace, now the property of the Crown, in which has been formed the world-renowned gallery of pictures.

In order to connect the palace with the Uffizi Gallery, which he had just had built by Vasari for the tribunals and civil courts, Cosimo asked the author of the "Vite" to erect a corridor, carried over the arcades of the Ponte Vecchio. He also connected the Uffizi Gallery with the old palace in which he resided, and it was at his request that Ammanati erected the singular fountain at the corner of the ducal palace, for which Benvenuto Cellini made a tender. Ammanati was a really great artist, as will be seen when we come to treat of Florentine sculp-

ture, and it was he who built the Ponte alla Trinita, which has such a fine span over the Arno.

Cosimo, sustaining the traditions of his family, went far towards making a new city of Florence. Buontalenti, Giovanni da Bologna, Montorsoli, Religiosa Serrita, Vincenzio Danti, Tribolo, Jacopo da Pontormo, Angiolo Bronzino, Zuechero, and Giovanni Strado were in his employ, and decorated the palaces and monuments which he built. To him Florence owes the Boboli Gardens, and many of her piazzas, bridges, fountains, and statues, and his name is engraved on many a commemorative stone in the principal streets.

Science and literature were still held in honor, and although the greatest Italian names had disappeared, the memory of them still remained. Cosimo completed the Libreria Laurentiana, commenced by Michael Angelo in the cloisters of San Lorenzo at the request of Pope Clement VII., but never completed. He turned his attention also to agriculture, and endeavored to reclaim the tracts of waste and barren land around Pisa. He was a patron of botany, and appointed to the professorship of Pisa one Luke Ghini, whom he instructed to form a botanical garden at Boboli. Then, again, in order to facilitate legal proceedings, which were unduly lengthened by the absence of any careful record of previous cases, he instituted the "Archivio Generale," in which deeds, classified by the names of the families to whom they



belonged, and of their notaries, were deposited, so as to prevent any disputes as to the rights of succession.

Cosimo was very partial to pomp of every kind, including jousts and tilting matches, and after the capture of Siena the first thing he did was to form a mounted troop of a hundred nobles, selected from among the most proficient in riding, fencing, dancing, and tilting. He did the same at Florence, and his reign witnessed a revival of the splendid Triumphs organized by Lorenzo the Magnificent. There was not, perhaps, so much delicacy of outline and conception, but these Triumphs, representations of which are preserved to us in prints and engravings which would form a library of themselves, were conducted upon an even more lavish scale. Moreover, as to all these qualities he added that of a legislator, it is not too much to say that Florence and Tuscany, if they surrendered their liberties, secured through the strength and authority of Cosimo a peaceful and assured protectorate. He acted with the full consciousness of his power, building churches, combating the heresy which was then beginning to spread in Germany, joining forces with Rome against the Turk, and receiving from Pope Pius V. the title of Grand Duke, with the purple and the diadem. Charles V. sent him the Golden Fleece, but history says that the honor was bestowed more upon the wealthy Medici who had lent him money than upon the sovereign ruler of Florence.

Cosimo was a politician and legislator of no little talent, but it is well known now that most historians have kept back the truth as to the depravity of his private life. History has recorded his public acts, and by glossing over his crimes and vices has made him famous, but it is only too true that in a fit of passion he slew his two sons, Don Garcia and Cardinal Giovanni. Their mother, the Duchess Eleanora, was so horror-stricken that she died, and it was given out at Florence that the putrid fever, then prevalent at Pisa, had carried off all three of them. It is supposed, too, that Cosimo I. is responsible for the murder of Sforza Almini, a gentleman of Venice, who had spoken of him as the author of these crimes.

The first wife of the first Grand Duke was Eleanora of Toledo, the daughter of Don Pedro of Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. After he had been the indirect cause of their mother's death, he married Cammilla Martelli, the daughter of an illustrious Florentine house, whom he had seduced, and by whom he had had an illegitimate daughter, Virginia, afterwards the wife of Don Cæsar of Este. It was at the injunction of Pius V., who had received from Cosimo a confession of all these crimes, that he contracted this second marriage; but his wife, though she appeared at Court, never took the title of Grand Duchess. Cosimo died on the 21st of April, 1574, of malignant fever at his country house, Costello, and besides his bust by Cel-

lini, we have an equestrian statue of him by Giovanni da Bologna, erected twenty years after his death, on the Grand Ducal Square. The pedestal is adorned with several bas-reliefs representing episodes in his history. There are also many portraits of him, mostly by Bronzino, among them a panel picture in the gallery of Princess Matilda Bonafaste, in which he is surrounded by his sons.

## FRANCESCO I.

(1541-1587.)

Called upon to succeed Cosimo I., Francesco, the eldest son, had undergone a ten years' apprenticeship to government under his father, and was therefore ripe for the exercise of power. He possessed many high qualities, being of a pacific disposition, devoted to art, and enough of a builder to leave his mark upon Florence. During his reign flourished Bernardo Buontalenti and Giovanni da Bologna, the last great artists of the Renaissance period, and he was himself an adept in the art of stone engraving, which was very much developed and improved at Florence about this time.

At the end of the sixteenth century Florence was at peace, and Francesco I. built the Pratolino at a cost of 782,000 gold crowns, giving free course to his fondness for gardens, fountains, and summer-houses. It was Francesco who founded the Uffizi Galleries, which contain so many masterpieces of

painting and sculpture. The varied imagination of Giovanni de Bologna was allowed full scope in the decoration of the Boboli Gardens, and it was at this date that were carved the Giant representing the Apennines which stands in the Pratolino, and the famous Sabine group under the Loggia of the Lanzi.

Francesco married, in 1565, Joanna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand and sister of the Emperor Maximilian, by whom he had three daughters and a son, Philip, all of whom died excepting Mary, who, by her marriage with Henry IV., became Queen of France.

The salient feature in the private life of Francesco was his passion for the famous Bianca Capello, who eventually became Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Francesco has been represented as sensuous and ferocious, but it seems to me that his defect was rather weakness of character, and when he found that Florence was at peace he left the conduct of affairs to his ministers, concentrating his attention on pleasure and art. He was a very well-read man, too, giving his patronage to printing and literature, his correspondence with Aldo Manucio and Ulysses Aldrovandri, the great printer, being still extant.

Very strange is the episode of Bianca Capello, who, eloping at night from her father's house, eventually finds her way to the Court and becomes Grand Duchess. The story has been told in every book upon Venice, but there are some incidents in it re-





lating to Florence which will be worth narrating here. Barthelemi Capello, a patrician, was the father by his wife,—one of the Morosini family,—of a daughter named Bianca, born in 1548. Barthelemi, having lost his first wife, remarried, and his second wife, Lucrezia Grimani, who was very young, bestowed little care on Bianca. The latter from her balcony one day espied a young gallant, Pietro de Zenobio Bonaventuri, who was looking at her with evident admiration. He often came to the window, and from exchanging signs they got to exchanging letters, and at last she agreed to meet him. As he was only on a visit to Venice from Florence, Bianca fled with him (28th November, 1563) to the latter city, where they were married, and it was during her husband's lifetime that Bianca, who had acquired great notoriety by her elopement, made the acquaintance of the Grand Duke Francesco. The husband shut his eyes to their intimacy, and was given a post in the grand ducal household; and as he himself led a somewhat irregular life, an opportunity was taken of inveigling him into an ambush, which resulted in his death. There is no positive proof that Francesco had any share in the crime; but at all events the coincidence is suspicious, for Joanna of Austria was dead, and there was no longer any obstacle to his union with Bianca, a widow. Francesco asked the Senate of Venice to give her to him in marriage, and they were so anxious to secure the friendship of the Grand



Duke of Tuscany that they readily assented, though her name had been erased from the *Libro d' Oro*.

The marriage fêtes of Bianca Capello created a great sensation, and they are described in a pamphlet which has been lent to me by the heirs of the late M. Firmin-Didot, and several engravings from which have been reproduced. The Silver Wedding of the Emperor of Austria, the anniversary of which was celebrated at Vienna with great pomp under the superintendence of Makart the painter, gives us some idea of what these pageants were like, but during the Italian Renaissance they had an intensity and a piquancy not to be met with anywhere else. When Lucretia Borgia entered Rome she was followed by two hundred ladies on horseback, magnificently dressed, and each accompanied by the cavalier of her choice. Lorenzo wrote, just before one of his Triumphs, to the Pope asking for the loan of two elephants, which he wanted to introduce into the procession, and the Pope, as he had not any of these animals, sent him two leopards and a panther.

The fêtes to celebrate the marriage of Bianca Capello were among the most splendid ever given, and though others may have been more sumptuous in after-times, they did not possess the same stamp of elegance which was peculiar to the age when artistic taste reached its zenith in Italy. Each of the principal groups in this pageant was a masterpiece. Bianca's car was drawn by lions, but to all the others

were harnessed horses dressed up in skins of wild animals, or so disguised as to resemble griffins and unicorns; or buffaloes covered with elephants' skins. Naked men and women had their bodies painted with gold, in order that they might represent the deities of Olympus; and all Florence was mad with excitement in greeting a prince to whose defects they were ready to close their eyes.

The husband and wife were only united for seven years, and they both died on the 19th of October, 1587, at an interval of only a few hours, in their villa at Poggio Caiano. It was always supposed that they had both been poisoned, but Litta, a very trustworthy historian, in his "Genealogies of Italian Families," puts these suspicions into words. His version is that Bianca intended to poison her brother-in-law, and that her husband accidentally partook of the tart which she had prepared, and that she, when the truth dawned upon her, poisoned herself in despair. He adds that when Cardinal Medici, for whom the tart was intended, came in, and learnt what had taken place, he put his back against the door and would not let any one enter until he was assured that husband and wife had both breathed their last.

A document, however, which goes far towards exonerating Bianca of this charge is a letter from Vittorio Soderini to Silvio Piccolomini, in which he says, "The two bodies were opened before burial, and Baccio Baldini and Leopoldo da Barga assured me

that in both cases there were the same signs of corruption in the liver and lungs. Bianca Capello had been dropsical for more than two years, and a large quantity of water was taken from her body. The common people believed that both had died of poison, but these stories are all untrue, and those who are the most likely to know think that they died a natural death."

It is said that the body of Bianca was buried in the paupers' grave at San Lorenzo, instead of in the tomb of the Grand Dukes, while the remains of Francesco I. were laid beside those of his first wife, Joanna of Austria; but some assert that Bianca too was privately interred with her husband. Leaving, as has been said, only one daughter, Marie de' Medici, the future Queen of France, Francesco was succeeded by his brother Ferdinand. There are several portraits of Bianca both at Venice and Florence, the best being those in the Pitti Palace.

#### FERDINAND I.

(1551-1609.)

The son of Cosimo I. and Eleanora of Toledo, who succeeded Francesco I., found Tuscany too small for him, and this prince, who had the instincts of a conqueror, was the first of his family since the fifteenth century who endeavored to make his influence felt beyond the frontiers of Italy.

There are two distinct phases in the career of

Ferdinand. Brought up for the Church, he was made a cardinal, and lived in a monastery at Rome, with all the pomp that became one of his family.

Resolute and haughty, he was more feared than liked at the Vatican, though he had tact enough to exercise a considerable influence over the Sacred College, and it is even said that in questions of the first importance his opinions carried as much weight as those of the Pontiff himself. While wearing the purple, his undertakings were necessarily of a peaceful character, and he concentrated his attention upon what we now call "Missions." Combining, in the true spirit of a Medici, a zeal for intellectual research with his religious propaganda, he fostered the study of the Oriental languages, setting up at his own cost a printing-press in Oriental characters, and organizing foreign missions to which he attached young students, who came back to Rome and founded a college in which they taught Arabic, Sanscrit, and Hindustani. He also had translations made of philosophical, medical and mathematical treatises from the Arabic, and distributed them in all directions. Fond of display, amid all his peaceful occupations he followed the example of his ancestor, Cardinal Hippolytus, and had a large escort of cavalry. The Pope on one occasion having threatened to imprison him in San Angelo, Cardinal Medici took the bull by the horns, and came to seek audience of the Pope with a cuirass under his robe, and when the Pontiff angrily declared

that it was in his power to deprive him of the hat which symbolized the dignity of Cardinal, Medici replied that if he lost his hat he should substitute for it the iron crown.

Having succeeded his brother as Grand Duke, he began by according a liberal patronage to art and literature, encouraging such men as Ammirato and Gabriel Chiabrera, building the Ferdinand College at Pisa, and that singular chapel within a church (the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo), which is so profusely decorated with marbles and precious stones, but which testifies rather to lavish expenditure than to refined taste. If this chapel had been built a century earlier, when Brunelleschi, Bramante, Alberti, Michelozzo, and Michael Angelo were alive, it might have been the most magnificent in the world, erected as it was close beside the Sagrestia Nuova, where the twin figures of "Day" and "Night," of "Dawn" and "Twilight," kept watch over the tombs of Lorenzo and Julian.

Though Ferdinand I. has had the credit for the building of this chapel, it was not the work of a single reign, but at the same time it should be added that there is no doubt as to his having helped the architect, Matteo Nigretti, to draw the plans. Francesco I., however, had conceived the idea of a Pantheon of this kind, and later on the members of the Medici family were buried one under the high altar, another in the old vestry, a third in the new chapel,

and so forth. In this connection a singular story, too well authenticated to be passed lightly over, is current. It is said that the Emir Facardino, who claimed descent from Godfrey de Bouillon, and who, full of hatred for the Ottomans, had gone to Italy, and been received by the Medici, had persuaded them that it would be easy to lay hands upon the tomb of our Saviour and bring it to Florence, where a temple worthy of Christianity might be built to receive it. Ferdinand accordingly constructed a sepulchre in the Chapel of the Princes, and when the design fell through the sepulchre was, perforce, converted into a Pantheon for the Medici family.

I repeat this, though perhaps it is without foundation; but still the reader of Giovannio Mariti's "History of Facardino" (Livorno, 1787) will perceive that he places some amount of credence in it. The only objection against it is that the journey of the Emir to Florence dates from 1604. However, be this as it may, the chapel was built, and that, too, at a cost of twenty-two million crowns; and when one sees it, it is easy to understand that there was nothing exorbitant in the price. Its solid grandeur is very imposing, whilst the actual materials used are of the most precious description; it is, in fact, one mass of gold, marble, and solid stone. From the floor to the cupola the distance is sixty yards, and there is a marked disproportion between the statues of the last of the Medici, the work of John of Bologna and



Tacca, which stand in the niches, and this extraordinary monument. Beneath the floor is a crypt containing the coffins in which the bodies of the various members of the Medici family repose. Magnificent equestrian statues were often erected at Florence at this period, one of the finest being that which Ferdinand, who had a great taste for sculpture, raised beside the fountain of the Ammanati in the square of the old Palace to the memory of his father, Cosimo I.

His own statue, which is that of an equestrian cast in bronze by Tacca, is a magnificent work of art, and stands in the square of the Annunciation. It was erected by his son, Ferdinand II. Pisa and Leghorn are indebted to him for many of their monuments. At Florence he continued that work of adornment which his father and brother had commenced. His external policy was marked by a certain spirit of adventure, for this was the time when so many incursions were made by the Turks and African corsairs, who, crossing the Adriatic, bombarded the towns on the coast, Otranto for instance, which was destroyed, and has never recovered from the blow inflicted on it by the Porte.

Charles V. took his fleet to Algiers, Bona, and the coast of Morocco, the chevaliers of the order of St. Stephen, instituted by Cosimo I., taking part in this attack against the infidels. Ferdinand fitted out a number of cruisers, and from pure love of glory sailed with his fleet for Bona, his enterprise receiving the



support of the Pope. He won several victories at sea, and many portraits of him are extant in naval uniform. He distinguished himself on land, also, by sending troops to the Danube in order to relieve the Emperor, who was being harassed by the Turks. A careful inspection of the scutcheon at the base of his statue on the Piazza Annunziata shows that he had altered the "Impresc" of the Medici of the elder branch, and adopted the swarm of bees and the motto, "Majestate tantum." The most striking allusion to this part of his career is to be seen at Leghorn, where he took ship, and where still stands a marble statue representing him in military uniform, with three Turkish slaves in chains at the base. This statue is by Tacca, the greatest sculptor in Florence during the seventeenth century.

Ferdinand cannot be charged with excessive pride, nor with any such blood-guiltiness as tarnishes the memory of several of his ancestors. He died at the age of fifty-eight, on the 7th of February, 1609, and was succeeded by Cosimo, the only son born of his marriage with Christine of Lorraine.

#### COSIMO II.

(1590-1621.)

The son of Ferdinand was very delicate, cared more for the arts of peace than for military enterprise, and was fond of poetry, music, theatrical and equestrian spectacles. Jousts and tournaments were held almost

daily, and the literary men of the day were constantly inventing entertainments, which were carried out by painters and skilled workmen. Upon one occasion a large square was converted into an inland sea, over which ships floated to represent the capture of Bona and the landing of the troops. A record of all this is to be found in the *concetti* of the time, which, however, are so exaggerated that it is difficult to distinguish between what is true and what is false. These later artists had not so much genius as their predecessors, and though their love of art was equally profound, they seem to have lost something of the spirit of manliness, and their touch something of its firmness. Their mincing and effeminate method was very different from the masculine and austere lines with which their ancestors were content; and, with its complicated and contorted designs, led to the creation of the singular school which afterwards made disciples everywhere. The death of Giovanni da Bologna left Tacca the sole representative of the great sculptors, while architecture was represented by Giulio Pasigi, and painting by Cigoli, Passignani, Christoforo Allori, and Rosselli. The sun was fast setting, and another twenty years bring us to the decadence of art in Florence.

Cosimo II., however, had the honor of befriending Galileo; he recalled him from Padua and appointed him "philosopher and mathematician extraordinary," in return for which his name has been handed down

to posterity in the dedications of a number of the great astronomer's works, the latter likewise giving the title of "the Medici stars" to the four satellites of Jupiter discovered by him while sweeping with his telescope the azure of the Florentine sky.

His reign was short, but not inglorious; succeeding to the throne in 1609, he died in 1621, leaving by his wife, Maria Maddalena of Austria, a son, Ferdinand, who was only ten years of age at the time of his father's death.

#### FERDINAND II.

(1611-1670.)

Tuscany was thus governed by a regency, and though the time was past when a revolution was to be apprehended, the economic effects of this ten years' minority were very unfavorable. Christine of Lorraine, the grandmother of the young prince, was still alive, and she acted as co-regent with his mother. Badly advised, and too proud to sacrifice their own ideas, the effect of their ten years' rule was to impoverish the State for a very long time. They took upon themselves to carry on the grain trade of Siena, and by their unskilful administration ruined the whole province. They were liberal to prodigality, and the result was that the country became so impoverished that pawnshops were opened in Florence for the first time. In the meanwhile the young prince was on his travels. After a stay in Rome he went to Prague, and

thence all through Germany. In 1628, having attained his majority, he returned to Florence, and commenced his rule.

He married Vittoria della Rovere, and the early years of his reign were very peaceful, though they were darkened by a visitation of the plague, which had not appeared in Tuscany for several centuries. The young sovereign displayed great courage in helping to stamp out this terrible scourge; but he was not animated by any martial spirit, and on the death of the Duke of Urbino, in 1631, he incurred the displeasure of his subjects by his half-hearted opposition to the claims which the Court of Rome advanced.

He was, however, compelled to give his aid when his brother-in-law, Farnese, marched his forces through Tuscany in order to recover Castro and Ronciglione, which had been unlawfully seized by the Pope. After so many years of improvident administration, Tuscany was not very well prepared for a heavy military expenditure, and Ferdinand II. lost what little popularity he had gained during the epidemic by the increase of taxation which was rendered necessary. He enjoyed a high moral credit abroad, and the House of Medici had acquired a prominent place in what we should now call "the European Concert," by the mere fact of having given two queens to France, in the persons of Catherine, wife of Henry II., and Marie, wife of Henry IV.

Very moderate in his views, and animated by a religious spirit which never degenerated into fanaticism, Ferdinand acted as intermediary between Alexander VII. and Louis XIII., and was instrumental in the signature of the Treaty of Pisa, which probably prevented the recurrence of the cruel invasions of preceding centuries. His reign may be regarded as the close of a period not inglorious in art, for Pietro Tacca was still alive, painting was represented by Giovanni da San Giovanni and Pietro de Cortona, while Stefano della Bella, a gifted designer, composed the fêtes and the public rejoicings which were still in vogue. Ferdinand also devoted much attention to the embellishment of towns, and to the improvement of the seaports, notably of Leghorn, and he made a determined effort to suppress the corsairs of Tunis.

The name of Ferdinand is, however, most honorably associated with that of Galileo, whom he seems to have befriended as far as lay in his power.

The great astronomer having been accused to Pope Urban VIII. a member of the Barberini family, was summoned, when seventy years of age, to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition, upon the charge of having maintained a theory contrary to that of the Church. The Tuscan Court followed the progress of the trial with keen interest, but in the end Galileo had to be given up. After sixteen days of imprisonment he was allowed to live in his own house and

drive about the city. But fifty days later he was again arrested, and this time informed that unless he abjured his errors he would be sentenced to imprisonment for life. It was then, according to a story which seems to be as baseless as it is well known, that the illustrious Galileo knelt in submission in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, concluding his forced recantation with the words so often quoted "*Pur se muove.*"

He was subsequently permitted to reside in the Medici Palace on the Trinita di Monte, and later to remove to Siena, where he remained for several months in the Palace of the Archbishop.

Ferdinand II. finally procured permission for him to return to Florence, where he passed the eight remaining years of his life in peace.

The epoch was undoubtedly an intellectual one, for Ferdinand's natural bent was literary, and he had also acquired some celebrity as a chemist. There is another of the Medici family, however, who must not be passed over without notice, and this is Cardinal Leopold, who made himself famous by his love of study, and his patronage of all those who had distinguished themselves in science, literature, and art. This sufficed, in a country like Florence, to give a great impulse to intellectual pursuits. The love of natural science had already been manifested by the earlier Medici, to whom we owe many valuable discoveries, and the sojourn of Galileo had stimulated









the zeal of those who were studying physics and mathematics, for he founded a school, and left behind him pupils such as Niccolò Aggiunti, Evangelista Torricelli, and Vincenzo Viviani.

This movement received the support of Ferdinand, and of his brother the Cardinal, the latter of whom founded the celebrated Cimento Academy, which became such a focus of intellectual splendor. The light was about to be extinguished, but there was a final flicker, and those who lived in Florence then might have seen a grand duke working in his laboratory, with the aid of his brother, a prince of the Church, and of Viviani, at experiments made to see whether mercury could not be rendered malleable.

Ferdinand undoubtedly made some useful discoveries, and he deserves the credit of bringing out several useful publications, and of assisting men whose researches were likely to be of service to the cause of science. It was at the gatherings in the grand ducal palace that the foundation of the Cimento Academy was decided upon; its career was short, though brilliant. The first meeting was held on the 19th of June, 1657, the assembly taking for their crest a retort and three crucibles, with the motto, "Provando Riprovando." The meetings were held at the Pitti Palace, and the members, only nine in all, were the Grand Duke, Cardinal Leopold, the brothers Paolo and Candido del Buono, Alessandro Mascili, Vincenzo Viviani, Francesco Rede, a celebrated patrician

of Arezzo of whom we have a fine bronze medallion, Antonio Uliva, Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, Count Carlo Renaldini, and Count Lorenzo Magalotti, who acted as secretary. But these nine academicians, who, patronized by the Grand Duke, held their sittings at the palace, could command plenty of money, and by means of secretaries who were salaried by the Grand Duke, they carried on a correspondence all over Tuscany, and kept the lamp of learning alight. In 1666 were published "Essays in Natural Experiments," dedicated by Cardinal Leopold to the Grand Duke Ferdinand.

The intention was excellent, but these savants could not agree, and that jealousy which is too often inseparable from intellectual superiority led to so much discord that Borelli, one of the most brilliant of the academicians, withdrew from the Court, and even from Tuscany, taking with him Uliva and Renaldini. The Cimento lived only ten years.

It may be said of Ferdinand II. that on the whole he was a great man, and among his claims to celebrity are his presents to the Uffizi Museum, his gifts to it including several pictures which he had inherited from the Della Rovere family, such as Titian's celebrated Venus in the tribune-room. His brother the Cardinal, who had a great love for the antique, bought the famous "Hermaphrodite," the "Etruscan Chimera," and the beautiful bronze idol, all of which are in the Uffizi collection.

## COSIMO III.

(1642-1723.)

Brought up at the Court of Ferdinand II., Cosimo III. was educated in a good school, but, endowed though he was with good natural gifts and qualities, which might have made a distinguished man of him, he did not employ them aright. He inherited from his mother a certain tendency to asceticism, and he is perhaps the only Medici who was anything of a fanatic.

It has been said that the journey which he made through Europe during his father's lifetime was more like a holiday tour than the travels of a young prince eager to see and learn. He was accompanied by Count Maggalotti of the Cimento, but the companionship of that learned man was not so profitable to him as it should have been.

The life-long ambition of Cosimo III. was to play a leading part among the sovereigns of Europe, but he had neither the talent nor the energy for it. He was fond of distinctions, titles, and the pomp of the Court, and to shed fresh lustre upon his throne he would have made any sacrifice. As the Emperor of Germany was pressed for money, Cosimo, by a loan which was never repaid, obtained from him the right to substitute the prefix of "Royal" for that of "Most Serene" Highness. Florence at this period was the foreigner's paradise, for Cosimo was always ready to

receive them with great splendor, in the hope of getting a great name for himself abroad. He was very generous, and made sumptuous presents to his ministers and to other sovereigns.

The Court of Rome profited largely by his liberality, and he gave so much to the Jesuits and missionaries that he was more than once embarrassed for money with which to pay his own troops. Large sums were also spent on religious buildings. Struck by the fact that several of the religious congregations had lost the austerity for which they were formerly noted, Cosimo sent to Spain for some Franciscan fathers from St. Peter of Alcantara to found two monasteries in which the discipline should be stricter. From the French Trappists he also got several brothers, who formed the nucleus of the Trappist monastery of Buonsollazzo on the Mugello. He attended divine service three times a day, and took much to heart the religious lukewarmness of the Florentines, who cared more for the externals of worship than for the ideal which is the aim of the pious.

He pensioned and assisted many authors of religious books; and Giuseppe Brochi, who wrote a life of Florentine saints and good men, being unable to canonize him, includes him in the list of "Venerables."

In spite of these tendencies, Cosimo III. did not practise the Christian virtues of resignation and tolerance. An Italian by birth, with no admixture of foreign blood, seeing that his mother was a Princess

of Urbino, he would have liked to substitute for the pleasures and dissipations so dear to the grand ducal Court the austere gravity of Spain.

Cosimo had married during his father's lifetime Louise Marguerite, daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIV. of France, and by her he had two sons, Ferdinand and John Gaston, and one daughter, Anna Maria Louisa, who married William, Elector and Count Palatine. This daughter, at her husband's death, returned to Florence, where she died in 1743, being the last representative of her celebrated house. Louise of Orleans entertained, however, the most bitter feeling of dislike towards her husband, and never rested until she succeeded in getting back to France, where she took up her residence in the Convent of Montmartre, but spent a great deal of her time at Court. There are several portraits of her taken in the religious garb, with the convent and heights of Montmartre in the background. The memoirs of the seventeenth century are full of details of visits paid to this abbess of royal blood, who, with her dowry and an allowance of forty thousand gold crowns guaranteed by the Court, was enabled to keep up no little state.

Cosimo, as soon as he was separated from his wife, thought about marrying his son Ferdinand, and when he was five-and-twenty he obtained for him the hand of Violante Beatria, daughter of Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria. The marriage was an unhappy one, and

ended in an immediate separation, Ferdinand leading a very dissolute life and dying in 1713. The other son, John Gaston, whom his father did not like, had been sent away from home, and was married to a German princess, the daughter of Philip of Neuburg, who was the heiress of her father's principality. He lived in Bohemia on the property belonging to his wife, a very singular woman, who made his existence so intolerable that he left her in Germany and went to live elsewhere. This completed the ruin of the house of Medici, and did away with all hope of an heir being born to the throne.

Cosimo, however, had a brother in the Church, whom he induced to put off his rank as cardinal and marry, in the hope of perpetuating the dynasty. At the age of five-and-forty he married Eleanora Gonzaga, the daughter of the Duke de Guastalla, but he died two years afterwards, leaving no issue, and so all the plans of Cosimo came to nought.

It cannot be said that his reign was altogether an inglorious one. Cardinal Leopold survived his nephew two years, and if the Cimento Academy was broken up, there remained in existence a society devoted to art, science, and literature; physics, medicine, natural history, and botany were still flourishing; and though Cosimo had other things to attend to besides the encouragement of intellectual progress, he did not allow them to interfere with it. Francesco Redi, Averani, Gualtieri, Piero Antonio Micheli, and Giam-



battista Nelli belong to this epoch. The laboratory and the astronomical observatory of the Pitti Palace were still in full working order, purchases were made of instruments such as the Bruggens telescope at Dresden, the first pneumatic machine was brought from Leyden, and experiments as to the action of the sun's rays upon gems and hard stones were carried out. The prince provided out of his private purse a pension for Micheli, whom he looked upon as the first botanist of the day.

Then, again, the Apatisti, a purely literary society, was founded in the room of the Cimento, and the study of languages, poetry, and eloquence was brought into fashion again by Benedetto Averani, the two Salvini, Menzini, Filicaia, Canon Mozzi, Govi, Father Politi, and Lami, to mention only the most celebrated. The fine arts were to all intents and purposes dead, earnest as were the efforts made to revive them. Cosimo III. had made over to the Uffizi Gallery all the masterpieces derived from the Della Rovere inheritance, and all that Cardinal Leopold had collected in the Pitti Palace became national property, this being the time when the gallery of antiquities acquired that priceless treasure, the Venus de' Medici, brought from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, with many other statues and objects of price.

Cosimo III. was deficient in greatness of soul and generosity. He was vindictive, not to say cruel; and it is said that having found out that the great geom-

eter, Lorenzo Lorenzini, the author of the "*Exercitatio Geometrica*," kept up a correspondence with the Grand Duchess Louise d'Orléans when she was living in Paris, he kept him twenty years in a dungeon in the tower of Volterra. He was short-sighted enough and intolerant enough to refuse permission to the Huguenots who were driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to settle in the marshes outside Pisa, and thus was lost an opportunity for reclaiming them and for founding a prosperous colony, as in England, Holland, and Brandenburg.

John Gaston, his son, and the last of the family, succeeded him in 1723.

#### JOHN GASTON.

(1671-1737.)

While heir-presumptive the last of the Medici showed great intelligence, and much was to be expected from him. He was kind, generous, very fond of study, and in other respects richly endowed by nature. Always associating with men of learning and great attainments, he studied many branches of literature, among his most intimate friends being Benedetto Brasciani, Giuseppe Averani, Enrico Noris, Lorenzini, Father Salvini, and Magliabecchi, the founder of the Uffizi library. He spoke German, French, Spanish, and English, and was a master of several dead languages. Fond of bodily exercises, he was a fine horseman and a practised tilter ;

and he was also a good musician and an accomplished draughtsman.

This is the stuff of which a good sovereign is made, but his father, who had no great affection for him, styled him "the learned doctor of the Medici family." The coldness which had always been shown him in his youth kept him away from Florence, and his marriage with the daughter of Philip of Neuburg so changed his character and tastes that those of his compatriots who came to see him could not recognize in him the brilliant young prince who had been the hope of the Tuscan crown. He gradually lapsed into habits of indolence and vice, and his Court fell beneath the influence of abject creatures, in whose society he lost all sense of the responsibilities of his rank and station.

Having left his wife in Bohemia and returned to Florence, where he received an allowance in keeping with his rank, he did not attempt to maintain appearances or to stand on etiquette, becoming a tool in the hands of his valet, Giuliano Dami. This was his mode of life when he was called on to succeed his father, and he made no change, allowing his favorite to govern him. He was good-natured, but it was the good-nature of indolence rather than of temperament; and he remained shut up in his palace, where he passed his time in sensual indulgence.

Holding entirely aloof from affairs of State, his subjects did not even know him by sight; and those

who wished to have an audience of him were obliged to suborn his valet. During the fourteen years of his reign he was not present more than two or three times at the Ministerial Council. This being the case, the head of each administration was supreme in his own department, and, strange to say, the affairs of Florence were not any the worse managed during this period.

As John Gaston's habits and pleasures were inexpensive, the royal treasury began to fill very rapidly. In one of his lucid intervals this prince insisted upon a reduction of the public debt and of the taxation which fell so heavily upon the people. Upon another occasion, prompted by good advice, and perhaps in some measure by his early instincts, he determined to employ the surplus arising from his disuse of the etiquette and ceremonial which were formerly maintained, in enriching the public collections with valuable jewels, pictures, statuary, and works of art of every description. His sister, Anna Maria, the widow of the Elector, after her return to Florence in 1717, also gave all her pictures of the Flemish school to the Uffizi Museum, and by her will, dated April 5, 1739, she bequeathed all the statues, pictures, and curiosities which belonged to her as sole and legitimate heiress of the Medici family, to Florence, having previously made a special agreement (October 31, 1737) to this effect.

Gaston also founded several almshouses for the

poor, and gave away money very freely, so that if his reign was not a very brilliant one, it may at least be said that he possessed some of the qualities which one expects to find in a prince. He was a queer mixture of virtue and vice, but at his death the people remembered only his goodness and the generous use which he made of the money that might have been spent upon pomp and show.

His death occurred on the 9th of July, 1737, and was followed soon after by that of his sister, the grand ducal throne falling to the Lorraine branch of the Hapsburgs. The last of the Medici was dead, and the family which during three centuries had given Tuscany so many great politicians and a few crowned monsters, was extinct. The first of them were the most illustrious, giving to their century the title of "The Age of the Medici." It may be said of them that they crushed liberty and claimed power as a right; but at all events they did much to compensate for their usurpation. The great period of Florentine history is over, and the narrative might even have stopped short at the death of Michael Angelo, but it was as well to follow to its decline the Medici family.

The eighteenth century is almost a part of contemporary history, and during this time Florence enjoyed comparative prosperity under the Lorraine dynasty, though the days of bold initiative were over. No fresh monument was added to the list, but much

was done in the way of embellishment and improvement. The muse had folded her wings, and the love of ease militated against the birth of any new genius. The Florentine people preserved, however, their respect for the past, and were not incapable of admiring the *capi d'opere* on the Piazza della Signoria. In relating, as I have done, the story of Florence from the first of the Medici down to John Gaston, we get a general knowledge of how the city came to hold so high a place in history. Much might be said about modern Florence as well, but this is not the place for such a study, dealing as I am with the art of past ages. Before considering which, however, I will endeavor to show how it was that Florence became the cradle of the Renaissance.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE RENAISSANCE.

It is often asked how it came to pass that Florence, rather than any other Italian city, enjoyed the distinction of reviving in Europe the cultivation of thought, of inspiring it with a sense of the beautiful, of giving the signal for progress in every branch of human knowledge, and of maintaining for so long a period the supremacy over all the other cities in the peninsula. In other words, what, it is asked, were the causes and origin of the Renaissance?

It is no easy matter to analyze very accurately so vast and complex a movement; for if, on the one hand, there is something logical and natural in this wonderful development, the country in which it took place must have possessed certain precious gifts which seconded it, and there must have been in the soil which gave birth to it a fertility which contributed to the abundance of the harvest. Study and economy were not the only factors; there was a certain amount of intuition and good fortune which defies analysis. The mildness of the climate, the charm of the atmosphere, the native grace with which surrounding objects are enveloped, and an admixture of elegance



and attractiveness, all told in favor of the movement. The co-efficients are manifold; some direct and permanent; others indirect, remote and fleeting.

It will be my endeavor to explain them briefly in the course of a rapid review of the intellectual and artistic movements.

In his interesting book on the Renaissance, Burekhardt, in the chapter entitled "The Renaissance of Antiquity," says, "The social conditions of the time would have sufficed of themselves, without the aid of antiquity, to have raised the Italian nation to a certain degree of maturity, just as it is certain that most of the substantial innovations then introduced into public life would have taken place without the same aid."

If this assertion were correct—and I venture to take exception to it, especially as regards literature and art—we should have to eliminate one of the causes hitherto considered as among the most powerful, and to regard the elaboration of this great work as due solely to Florentine genius and the political and social conditions of the time. It is only fair to add, however, that Burekhardt acknowledges that antiquity gave to literature and art a coloring all their own, which may easily be traced in form, if not in substance.

The renovation, it must be said, made itself manifest in all directions. Not only was there a return to intellectual culture, inspired by the discovery of

ancient works of literature and philosophy, but it seems as if the lost sense of plastic beauty had been recovered at the same time.

The constant struggle for independence, for the liberty of association which was the most powerful lever in the might of Florence, for the political autonomy of the city, and for the possession of communal rights, kept all the citizens interested in public affairs, compelling high and low alike to put forth a certain amount of activity, intellectual as well as physical, and impressing them with a sense of personal responsibility. From an early age each citizen of Florence belonged to some group and became the soldier of an idea, being liable to be summoned at a moment's notice to the defence of his banner and of the disregarded rights of his corporation.

All this tended to create originality and independence of character, and to excite a spirit of individualism. The power of a democracy, manifold as are its dangers, has this good side—that it does not impose a common yoke on all, and does not put any other limit on individual ambition than that of the individual's capacities and energy. Upon the other hand, there was an apparent incompatibility between the constant political agitation which prevailed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the germinating of fruitful ideas and the development of a nascent civilization. This is a point to which I shall often have occasion to refer, though it is per-

haps impossible to define the precise causes of it. How was it that the Renaissance succeeded in taking root amid these constant struggles, instead of being choked at its birth? How came it that while Pisa, Siena, and Perugia were being deluged with blood, artists and thinkers were able to work in peace?

Not only in Florence, but throughout Italy—in Venice with its Senate and Grand Council, in Milan with the Sforzas, in Mantua with the Gonzagas, in Ferrara with the Estes, in Urbino with the Montefeltros, in Rimini with Malatesta, in Naples with Robert and Alfonso, and at the Vatican with the Popes—was this phenomenon manifested; and while neighboring states were at war with one another poets, painters, and philosophers followed their peaceful pursuits, and even tyrants, as they were called did not disdain to compete for the laurel crown.

The true reason of it all lies in the fact that Italy did not have to make the same effort as the other nations of Europe to escape from the state of torpor into which all had sunk in the Middle Ages. It would be no difficult matter to write a history of the five or six centuries which followed the invasion of the Barbarians; but this period, dark as it was throughout the rest of Europe, was not without its glory for Italy. The monuments with which Rome had covered the land were still standing: she still existed, like a fire of which the smouldering embers alone remain, and which no savage incursions could

quite extinguish. All her triumphal arches, baths, votive columns, pantheons, amphitheatres, and temples still raised their heads, though entwined with creepers, which gave a new and additional beauty to these old ruins, showing how great must once have been that grandeur, the remembrance of which comes powerfully back to us in every moment of quiet reflection. It was the connecting link between Italy of the past and new Italy. The grandeur of the past could but raise hopes for the splendor of the future. Greece, which had been subdued and then exacted vengeance by imposing her intellectual yoke on her fierce conqueror, was something more than a mere geographical expression, a vague ideal, a land of sentiment, in which at one period human thought had enshrined itself. It was for the Italians a living reality, a friendly and neighboring land, which they could see far away on the horizon of the Adriatic sloping shorewards with its pale blue hills. Each day ships arrived from the Hellespont, their sails full in the breeze and edged with red, recalling in shape and color the ships of antiquity. The South of Italy was down to a recent period known as Magna Græcia, and colonized by those who had come from the opposite shore, and there flourished in Calabria and other parts of Sicily a civilization of which traces are to be found everywhere. If Christianity had proscribed everything which recalled paganism, the traditions at least remained, and every day further traces of civilization

were discovered in proportion as this chosen race was found to have established itself in the most remote villages. These two influences—the Latin and the Greek—had conjointly saved Italy from total ruin from an intellectual point of view; and the Florentines were more open than any of their neighbors to the influences of culture for the most industrious and gifted of the colonies founded in the peninsula before the Romans, had left upon the soil of that country evident traces of their existence, not to speak of art monuments which are even still worthy to be compared with those of Greece or of Florence in the fifteenth century.

When Italy had been conquered, Theodoric, Charlemagne, and Lothaire did not fail to encourage intellectual progress and anything which made for civilization. In the eighth century was promulgated Lothaire's edict, in which, following the traditions of Charlemagne, he provided for the formation of schools at Pavia, Ivrea, Cremona, Turin, Florence, Termoli, and Vincenza; and there was spiritual light even in the darkness of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The monks of the Abbey of Monte Cassino furthered this development of learning by copying Aristotle, Demosthenes, Cicero, Horace, Virgil, and Lucretius; and throughout the whole of Southern Italy the Latin poets were read in the Roman amphitheatres, while in the Forum of Trajan men of letters would read extracts from the classic authors to the Senate, who

conferred on the most successful competitor a floral crown and a cloth of gold. The Latin tongue, which was in itself a means of civilization, being as it were the key to the lofty conceptions and writings of the ancient authors, was in pretty general use during the first part of the Renaissance, and sermons were preached in Latin in many of the Tuscan churches. Nor was respect for ancient literature the monopoly of a sect or of a religious body ; it was an article of popular faith. A proof of this is given us at Mantua, where the statue of Virgil was decorated with flowers, like the altar of a god ; and at Brindisi, where the poet's house was shown to strangers with legitimate pride. Dante, in the thirteenth century, acknowledged Virgil as his master in the line—

“Tu se' lo mio maestro e lo mio autore ;”

and he also did much to extend the knowledge of Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucanus, and of the greatest Greek writers of their day.

But the influence of Rome was predominant over Dante, and he regarded the inhabitants as his ancestors, “the Roman people being,” to use his own expression, “the first-born of the Italian family.”

The Latin tongue had never been lost, though it had been corrupted by the admixture of barbarisms. Two men of genius, Petrarch and Boccaccio, endeavored to revive the Greek language, and their efforts were not altogether in vain. Petrarch jealously pre-



served a MS. of Sophocles in the original Greek, which he could not read, and it seemed to him as if the letters, of which he was unable to understand the meaning, emitted rays of light full of fascination. It had been given him by Léonce Pilate, a pupil of Bernardo Barlaam, a Calabrian monk sent to Avignon as an ambassador to the Pope, and who was one of the promoters of the study of Greek in the West.

Boeceaccio, more fortunate than Petrarch, was able to read the *Iliad* in the original with the help of a Latin translation, and having in 1360 received Léonce Pilate into his house, he induced the Signoria to establish a public professorship for him to explain the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and sixteen of Plato's Dialogues.

This is a date to be remembered, for the secret of the superiority of Florence in the plastic arts is certainly to be found in the study she gave to the ancient monuments, while her intellectual superiority is not less certainly due to the discovery and diffusion of the MSS. of ancient writers. The manifestation of the genius of Dante, though he expressed himself in the vulgar tongue, was in a measure brought about by these influences seemingly so remote.

It may naturally be asked how it came to pass that while in the reign of Augustus Greek was spoken at Rome, even by women who prided themselves on their intellectual superiority, that language fell into disuse, and was soon unknown to all save a select



few. The influence of Greek philosophy and literature in Italy continued to increase under the Antonines; Marcus Aurelius wrote his "Maxims" in Greek, and two centuries later the Emperor Julian used it in preference to his own language in his defence of Polytheism.

The heaviest blow to Greek influence in the West was dealt by Christianity previous to the Barbarian invasion. The superb temples built in honor of the three thousand divinities, "among whom there was not a single atheist," and the charm of the writings of the great heathen authors, testified too strongly to the unquestionable superiority of ancient genius to be left intact. Temples were destroyed, images were broken, the gods were proscribed; and the intellectual level of society had sunk so low that no one rose to protest against this destruction of monuments of art and of Greek literature. The imagination reels at the thought of these holocausts offered up on the altar of the true God, the more so as it was not the outcome of sudden violence, as when the Arabs invaded Asia, but a methodical system not less fatal in its results. A few elevated minds may have risen superior to prejudice, and found the practice of the new creed not incompatible with an admiration for Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Plato; but St. Jerome himself, though he did not commit their writings to the flames, would not read them. The work of destruction was completed by

the official and infallible judgment of the Holy See, for in the Council held at Carthage all prelates were forbidden to read the heathen writers, and from that time all intellectual relation between Greeks and Latins was at an end, the Greek tongue, in which so many immortal works had been written, soon becoming unintelligible.

The transfer of the Roman Empire to Constantinople was followed by the Barbarian invasion of Italy; but Greek literature found a temporary home at Ravenna, on the shores of the Adriatic, the last refuge of the power of the Roman Emperors, from Theodoric, King of the Goths, whose intellectual qualities were far above those of his followers.

A few of the successors of St. Peter also extended their patronage to Greek literature, and a hundred years after Theodoric's day the Roman schools which had been closed during the invasion were reopened. The Church, however, still regarded the language and literature of Greece as tending to heresy, and the Latin tongue, which alone was taught, had become too corrupted by Barbarian idioms for the study of its literature to be general.

While the West was thus relapsing into darkness, it is interesting to see how far the East had preserved the precious patrimony handed down to it.

In the fourth century of our era the separation took place, and Constantinople became the scene of religious quarrels and heresies, the Greeks imitating

the conduct of Christian bishops, and destroying in their turn the manuscripts of Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, Corinna, Anacreon, Mimnermus, Bion, Aleman, and Alcæus, in the interests of religion. There remained a few historians of talent, commentators, geographers, and doctors, but not a single poet of note, and the decadence of literature followed close upon the political collapse.

A similar scourge to that which brought about the downfall of civilization in the West was about to complete the work of destruction in Greece. In the twelfth century the Arabs took possession of all the Greek colonies in Asia and Africa, and their invasion led gradually to the suppression of the Greek tongue, the use of which was confined to Greece strictly so called.

It was not, however, the Caliph Omar who burned the library of the Ptolemys, for this had already been done by the soldiers of Cæsar, and the Serapeum, which had escaped when Alexandria was captured by the Roman general, was sacked by Theodosius. It may even be argued that, setting aside the substitution of the Koran for the Bible, and the suppression of the Greek tongue, the Arabs under Haroun-el-Raschid played a civilizing part. But there was worse to come; and when the Ottoman Turks, having vanquished the Arabs in Asia, advanced upon Europe and threatened even to dislodge the Greek

language from the islands in which it had found a last refuge, it was Christianity which came to the rescue. In order to atone for the destruction of the ancient authors, it brought to the West the writings of the Church Fathers, and Greek became the liturgical tongue of the Eastern Church. When the whole territory had fallen beneath the yoke of the Mussulmans, the West became a refuge for those exiles, who may truly be called the real initiators of the Renaissance.

Before the capture of Constantinople, which dispersed the last of the Greek savants, the Byzantine emperors, threatened by the Turks, endeavored to make friends in the Latin world, and to bring about a conciliation of the Churches. In a Council held at Vienna in 1311, anxious to create a bond of union between the two Churches, the Bishops ordered that Latin should be taught in a certain number of Italian towns. Upon the other hand, the monks of the order of St. Basilus, who were established in Calabria, employed Greek in their liturgy, and were much interested in effecting the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches, while they were among the most hearty promoters of the study of Greek.

The Calabrian monk, Bernardo Barlaam of Seminara, who acted as teacher to Petrarch, had been one of the intermediaries between the two Churches, and this explains his presence at the Papal Court at Avignon. The first public chair of Greek was founded

by his pupil Pilate at Florence in 1360, at which time, as we find from Petrarch's letters, there were not ten people in Italy who could read Homer, even in the Latin translation.

Soon after this Manuel Chrysoloras came to seek the succor of Italy against the Turks, and was persuaded to occupy the chair left vacant by Pilate. He lectured at Milan, Paris, and Rome; wrote a Greek grammar; and having found in Palla Strozzi (1372–1462) a liberal patron, who would help him to propagate his ideas, got from Constantinople as many Greek manuscripts as he could, and revealed to the West the works of Plato and Plutarch, the politics of Aristotle, and the geography of Ptolemy.

It was Florence that gave the first impulse to the study of Greek by the creation of the chair occupied by Pilate in 1360, and from that date the progress was very rapid. Guarini of Verona succeeded Chrysoloras, and when Cosimo the Elder had driven Strozzi into exile, he continued to encourage the study of Greek. Leonardo Bruni Arezzo, another pupil of Chrysoloras, translated Aristotle's "Ethics," the "Discourses" of Æschines, and the "First Punic War" of Polybius, while Niccolò (1363–1437) created a new science—that of philological criticism. The Florentines were not content with possessing the mere texts, but did their best to have them in their primitive accuracy and to make the most out of them. Thus we reach the zenith of the movement, brought about by

the presence of the many Greeks who came to attend the Council at Florence, and afterwards by the emigration which followed on the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. George of Trebizond, Theodorus Gaza, Argyropulos, Gemistes Pletho, and Aurispa (who himself brought back to Florence, from his journey in the East, 232 Greek manuscripts), preceded Marcilio Ficino and the Academy of Plato, which held its meetings in the Careggi Gardens under the presidency of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Politian.

Before showing how Florence carried all Italy with her, and giving an idea of what the movement was in Florence itself when that city reached its apogee under Lorenzo, we must cast a look backwards at the parallel influences which had their place in the composition of Florentine genius. It is necessary to mark also how the vulgar tongue was slowly evolved; composed like a bouquet of flowers of the choicest and most appropriate expressions from the various dialects of Italy, and forming the new language in which Dante, in the thirteenth century, wrote his immortal poem.

The constitution of an exarchate at Ravenna, which lasted until the eighth century, caused Byzantine influences to predominate throughout Tuscany; and though it is difficult to say precisely how far they prevailed in literature, we have the clearest evidence of their existence in the plastic arts. In the baptis-



tery of San Giovanni, one of the most ancient monuments of Florence, the ornamentation of the ceiling is unmistakably Greek, reminding one of the mosaics in the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna and the beautiful mosaics of San Vitale, where the Empress Theodora, painted like a courtesan, and the Emperor Justinian, are represented in the midst of an Oriental Court, composed of eunuchs, Nubians, and Persians. It was Cimabue, the first leader of the Florentine school, who shook off the yoke of Byzantine influences, and brought the artists of his day back to the study of nature.

In sculpture Niccolo Pisano and other natives of Pisa led the way, though it is only just to add that they took their inspiration from national art, and learned much from the sarcophagi of Pisa, which had been carved two centuries before the Christian era by the Roman sculptors of whom Strabo wrote in such eulogistic terms.

The art and the science of the Arabs, their unrivalled taste, and their thorough though limited workmanship, also exercised an unquestionable influence on the movement. Masters of Italy from the ninth to the eleventh century, they could not fail to impress something of their style and characteristics—their love of color, their liking for rich materials and complex decoration—upon those with whom they were in constant communication at all the ports of the Mediterranean.



The Arabs were especially fond of richly chased armor, delicately wrought jewels, brilliant enamels, embossed leathers, and elaborately caparisoned horses; and, accustomed to camp life, they were wont, even in times of peace, to trace the images of war; thus the jousts and tournaments for which Italy became famous derived much of their splendor from the imitation, conscious or unconscious, of these Arab pageants.

The House of Swabia, when it had claimed the throne of the Roman Cæsars, never exercised more than a nominal and intermittent authority over Italy, and its genius differed so fundamentally from that of the Tuscans that the traces which it left behind it were very faint. Personal energy of character, however, has always had great influence in Italy, and the remarkable cultivation of Frederick Barbarossa's descendant, Frederick II., had a wide-spreading effect. His reign was the prologue of the Renaissance, and he probably had something to do with the tendency shown by the Florentines to shake off all religious influence in the work of civilization. He leaned to the side of the Arabs rather than of the Romans, and this sufficed to raise an accusation of atheism against him. He founded the University of Naples in 1224, spoke Italian, French, Greek, and Arabic, was a poet and a dandy, and was so exempt from prejudice that he admitted Arabs, however poor, to his Court if they were distinguished in literature or science. His

secretary was a Mussulman, his doctor a Spanish Jew, and his metaphysician an Englishman, Michael Scotus. The spirit of tolerance which he displayed is one of the distinctive marks of the Renaissance, and this was why the movement was held in suspicion by a few extreme sectaries.

The Normans, who had gained possession of Magna Græcia, driving out the Byzantines and Saracens, capturing Messina, Catania, and Palermo, and founding dynasties in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, siding at one time with the Pope and at another with the Emperor, were beyond doubt a valiant race; but they were less apt to receive than to impress upon others any intellectual influence. The singular monuments which they have left at Lucera, Canosa, and Venosa do no more than attest to the reality of the conquests made by Roger, Robert Guiscard, the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, and the heroes of "Jerusalem Delivered," and it is evident, when one examines the shape and character of these works of art, that those who reared them were dominated by the influence of what they had seen among the Arabs whom they had been combating in the East. The Normans made no attempt to alter the course of the civilization, higher than their own, which they found in these provinces, and it must be said to their credit that they left the holders of the soil in possession of their legal rights, the two races living side by side in perfect peace; so much so, that when they were suc-

ceeded by Frederick II. the Arab civilization was found intact.

The troubadours, driven from France by the crusade against the Albigenses, also had some influence upon the genius not only of Italy, but of Florence. This is proved by the frequent imitations of their works, and the language of Florence teemed with expressions and idioms borrowed from the tongue of Provence.

Three sovereigns of Southern Italy wrote poems in that tongue, and the troubadours also inculcated upon the Italians a chivalrous regard for the female sex, and that predilection for fine-drawn arguments which later degenerated into the *Concetti*.

These are the main influences and the various causes which brought about the Renaissance, and apart from them all the rest is due to the peculiar genius of Florence, to the national temperament, and to circumstances of race and politics. Much might be said, too, of the gradual formation of the vulgar tongue, and of its employment as the universal vehicle of thought throughout Italy when it came to be used by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the many other great writers who preceded Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and the learned men who discussed antiquity with Cosimo and Lorenzo beneath the wide-spreading trees of Careggi.

## CHAPTER IV.

## ILLUSTRIOUS FLORENTINES.

I MUST now, turning aside from the Renaissance movement, say something about the men who contributed the most towards its development, not only in Florence and throughout Tuscany, but at Rome as well, whither many of them were summoned by the popes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

I will only speak of those who were born in Florence itself, though to many who were natives of other parts of Italy that city was a second home. Upon the other hand, it will be seen that a native of Tuscany, Leonardo da Vinci, who takes rank with Dante and Michael Angelo, was almost a stranger in his own country, which possesses none of his greatest works, and he is even claimed as one of their own by another school. The name of those men of genius, exclusive of the artists, who gave Florence her unrivalled position, is Legion, beginning with Dante and ending with Galileo. The most illustrious were Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marcilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Machiavelli, Brunelleschi, Politian, Alberti, Savonarola—that is to say, historians, poets, artists, and philosophers—while inferior to them in talent, but

still worthy of mention as having taken part in the great movement of the time, are Coluccio Salutati, Passavanti, Giovanni Villani, Franco Sacchetti, Bonaccorso Pitti, Poggio Bracciolini, Agnolo Pandolfini, Traversari, Alamanni, Benivieni, Burchiello, Rinuccini, Acciaiuoli, Panormita, Pulci, Cristoforo Landino, Guicciardini, and the grand secretaries of the Republic, Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini. I will endeavor to describe the special characteristics and individual part played by each one of these in the mighty movement of his age.

The most illustrious thinkers and writers of the fifteenth century remain, so to speak, unknown, so far as their fleshly representation goes, for very few portraits were painted in those days. The beautiful but stern face of Dante was, however, handed down to posterity by Giotto in a fresco unfortunately so dimmed by age and blurred by an inartistic restoration that the features are very indistinct. There is a fresco of Piero della Mirandola as a child by Luini; and Alberti, who was the friend of many of the medallionists, lives in the likeness of him by Matteo da Pasti; in another at Rimini, over the tomb of Sigismund Malatesta; and in two bronzes, one presented to the Louvre Gallery by His de la Salle, and the other in the Dreyfus Collection.

The great medallionists of the fifteenth century have transmitted to us the features of Cosimo the Elder, Lorenzo, and of several other members of the

Medici family, and there are still extant some very perfect busts by Benedetto da Majano, Mino da Fiesole, Desiderio da Settignano, and Benvenuto Cellini. But from contemporary art in the strict sense of the term, from which one would prefer to have the portraits of all these celebrities, there is but little to be derived. The fifteenth century cannot, as I have said, boast of any portrait painters except Piero della Francesca and Pollaiuolo; though fifty years afterwards, when the art of printing, recently discovered, favored the spread of learning, a few artists illustrated the biographies which were published. The sixteenth century gives us a wider choice of subjects, the Pitti and Uffizi Palaces containing many pictures by contemporary masters, those by Bronzino being almost entirely confined to the Medici family; while a careful search of the principal collections, museums, and libraries in Europe reveals likenesses of the most celebrated masters and artists of the day.

## DANTE.

(1265-1321.)

Dante, as is well known, died in exile, and the monument afterwards erected to him by the people of Florence in the Pantheon of Santa Croce does not contain his bones; while the tomb at Ravenna in which he is buried was only built after his death by a Venetian, the proveditore of Ravenna, as an homage to the greatest of Italian poets. Cacciaguida, whose

name is recorded in the history of Tuscany as having taken part in the Crusade of 1147, had a son Alighieri, and he in 1265 became the father of the future author of the "Divine Comedy."

An ancient custom prevailed in Florence of celebrating the coming of May every year—a subject treated by many of the miniature painters of the time, under the title of "Primavera." On May-day the whole city kept holiday. The maidens, arrayed in white and with the May blossoms in their hands, formed long processions and danced on the sprouting grass, the young men joining in the pastime; and while the first day of summer was dedicated to the Virgin, the return of fine weather and the budding of the flowers was celebrated after the ancient rites. It was on a May-day that Alighieri took his son to the house of a neighbor, Folco de Portinari, who had invited all the children of his friends. Here it was that he met Beatrice, then only nine years of age, gay and beautiful in her childish fashion, and he received her image into his heart with so much affection that it never again departed from him. Eighteen years afterwards he wrote the "Vita Nuova," and Beatrice had died in the flower of youth. Full of melancholy, oppressed by persecution, and surrounded by enemies, he collected his thoughts about him to record the recollections of the beautiful vision in which she appeared to him "clothed in noble crimson," simple, candid, and gentle. He tells us how to







look at her made a man pure and good, and this youthful passion shed its influence upon his whole future life.

Dante lost his father in childhood. He studied under the celebrated Brunetto Latini, the secretary of the commune and the author of the "Tesoro" and the "Tesoretto." At eighteen the poetic instinct awoke in him, and later he wrote that strange love-dream of which Beatrice was the heroine. He related his dream to several of the master-poets of the day, some of them, such as Guido Cavalcanti and Cino da Pistoia, replying to him in kindly and encouraging terms, while one or two, including Dante da Majano, treated him as moon-struck, and advised him to take a dose of hellebore.

From 1283 to 1289 Dante wrote almost incessantly, conscious of his own powers, and having already, we are told, conceived the plan of the work which was to immortalize his name. But he was oppressed by melancholy, often retiring into the convent of the Benedictines, and meditating, to all appearance, the assumption of holy orders. Political disturbances, however, called him back to practical life, and as this was a time when it was necessary for a man to side with one or other of the contending factions, he enrolled himself beneath the banner of the Guelphs, and in 1289 was present at the battle of Campaldino and the victory of Arezzo.

Veri de Cerchi, the captain of the Florentine horse,

before the engagement became general, decided that twelve picked men should attack the enemy, and as those who took part in this attack were almost certain to fall, he named first himself, then his son, and then his two nephews, calling upon "those who love their country to come forward and prove it by making up the required number." A hundred and fifty men volunteered, and among these was Dante.

Upon the 9th of June, 1290, Dante, then five-and-twenty, received the tidings of the death of Beatrice. The thought of her had sustained him in life; she was his pole-star and hope; but though the blow was a terrible one, he bore it in silence, only giving expression to it six months afterwards in the canzone, "*Anima mia che non ten' vai?*" As his heart did not, much to his surprise, cease to beat, he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and theology, making himself familiar with the Greek and Latin authors, and for the next two years we know that he was engrossed in literary labors to the exclusion of politics. In 1292 he married Gemma dei Donati, to whom—though strangely enough her name is never once mentioned in his poems—he became very much attached. In the year of his marriage he renewed his connection with public affairs, was elected to the Government Council as Prior in 1300, sent in the following year on an embassy to Boniface VIII., and becoming involved in one of those revolutions which favored now Guelph and now Ghibelline, incurred, in

the year 1302, the penalty of exile. Now began his nineteen years of wandering through Italy, staying first with Bartolommeo della Scala at Verona, then at Padua, and then at Castelnovo, where he acted as mediator between Malespina and the Bishop of Luni. It was then that he tasted the bitter bread of exile, as he says ; but he did not suffer in silence, and it was at this period that he wrote the "Convito" and the discourses known as the "Vulgare Eloquio." Broken-hearted, and yearning with love for Florence, his ungrateful country, he cannot reconcile himself to the thought of living away from her, and with a mingling of hope and despair he weeps and almost implores that he may be allowed to return.

It seemed at one time as if his prayer would be heard, and he hoped to hasten its fulfilment by dedicating one of his works to the Emperor Henry VII.

In January, 1311, Robert, King of Naples, was proclaimed King of Italy, but the Guelph cities refused to recognize him, and Tuscany and the Romagna joined in a league against him. The Florentines allied themselves with Lodi, Cremona, Brescia, Milan, Pavia, and Piacenza, and it took the King six months to establish his power. He captured Piacenza, Cremona, Brescia, and Pavia, handing them over to governors, who showed them no mercy, and then proceeded to subjugate Tuscany. It was at this critical period that Florence opened her gates to most of the exiles, but the exclusion of the leaders

dashed all Dante's hopes to the ground. He was then at the Court of the Polentas at Ravenna, with Guido Novello, as we know by the date of a canzone on the death of the Emperor Henry VII., dedicated to Guido.

In 1314 he was at Lucea, as the guest of Uguecione della Faggiuola, and it was there that he forgot his ideal passion in the arms of a lady named Gentueea.

It was an ancient custom that on the festival of St. John certain criminals should receive their pardon, offering themselves to the saint, candle in hand, and paying a fine. A strenuous attempt was made to induce Dante to end his exile in this way, but to the foolish priest who conducted the negotiation he made the indignant reply :

"Is this how I am to be recalled to my country after three lustres of exile? Is this to be the recompense of my innocence? Is this the reward of my continued labor and study? Far from a man familiar with philosophy be such base cowardice! This is not how an exile should come back. Another way might surely be found which would not derogate from my fame. But if by this way only can I enter Florence, never again shall I see it. And what then? Shall I not still see the sun and the stars, and ponder the sweet truth, without first giving myself in ignominy to the Florentine people? No; I would not do it if I were starving."

When he made this answer he was at the Court of



Uguccione, driven from which he found an asylum with Can Grande della Scala at Verona. This was the most celebrated Court in all Italy, and it was the refuge of artists and poets from all parts, for whom Can Grande had built a spacious convent, with shady gardens and cool cloisters. Over the door of each room Can Grande had painted some symbol characteristic of the inmate—military trophies for the condottieri and captains; a palm-branch, symbolic of hope, for the exiles; an olive-branch for the monks; and a Mercury and Pallas for the artists. Dante was glad to take his place among them, and, with Gherardo di Castello, became one of the most honored guests of Can Grande, but the latter's unprincely mode of jesting causing an estrangement, the poet went to Ravenna and settled at the Court of Guido Novello, close to the Franciscan convent now called Forte Braccio, in a house belonging to the Signore da Polenta. He had with him his sons Giacomo and Pietro, and his daughter Beatrice. Guido Novello was a friend and comforter to him during this bitter period of exile, when he knew that the last chance of revisiting his country had gone. Every day he repaired to the convent of St. Francis, and it is almost certain that towards the close of his life he enrolled himself among the brethren of that order. In 1321 he died, full of honors, at Ravenna, and the lord of Polenta pronounced his funeral oration and decked his tomb with a wreath of laurel. The mon-



ument at Santa Croce is, as I have said, merely erected to his memory, his bones lying at Ravenna, in a tomb which was built in 1483, by order of Bembo, the father of the cardinal of that name, the architect being Pietro Lombardi, one of the greatest of Venetian artists. The small façade is of a later date, having only been built in 1780, by the architect Morigia of Ravenna, under the direction of the Cardinal-Legate Valenti Gonzaga. To this cursory biography of a man whose genius seems almost superhuman, and whose name is linked with that of Homer in the memory of man, may be added a few lines on his works. I am fain to confess that after one-and-twenty journeys in different parts of Italy I am still not familiar enough with the language to be a good judge of the sublime expressions and the depths of beauty which characterize the "*Divina Commedia*." Yet even through the imperfect interpretations of the best translators one can grasp the lofty conceptions and the alternations of fierce passion and tenderness which run through its stanzas.

Dante discloses himself to us in three different aspects. At first he sings of the morning of life; and, stricken with gentle melancholy at the sight of Beatrice, he utters his amorous lay in sonnets and cantos. At her death his spirit soars much higher, and then it was that he wrote his great book entitled "*Della Monarchia*," a learned treatise on constitutions, in which, with an admixture of social and theo-

logical science, he discoursed on the origin of power and of society. The poet of the "Rime" and the "Vita Nuova," which are the most graceful, youthful emanations from the tenderest soul and the greatest genius of modern times, disappeared in the austere thinker trying to define the limit between the power of the Emperor and that of the Pope.

Until Dante's time the Italian, or vulgar tongue, as it was called, was only used by the Tuscans for business communications, and by common people; but the poet, by his use of the popular idiom, proved that the loftiest ideas and the noblest thoughts could find expression in it as well as in Latin. This was the language in which he wrote the "Convito" as well as the "Vulgari Eloquio." Sent as ambassador to Rome, the Papal Court left an indelible impression upon his mind, and it was at Rome that he wrote the first stanzas of the "Divina Commedia," the recollections of his early youth bringing back the life-blood to his heart, and evoking the radiant image of his Beatrice.

While not attempting to bring into relief the infinite depth and tenderness of this great work, I would fain point out the methodical manner in which it is written. Thus, all the characters are taken from real life, though Dante intends them to be allegorical, and the events in which they take part express the ideas by which they are actuated. The work is divided into three parts—Hell, Purgatory, Paradise—

each containing a mystical teaching, the purport of which is explained by the poet himself in the letter which he wrote to Can Grande della Scala, dedicating the work to him out of gratitude for his hospitality.

Upwards of three thousand commentators, beginning with Boccaccio, Jacopo della Lana, and Grandenigo, have endeavored, with more or less success, to expound the meaning of the poem; but the most trustworthy exposition is that of his son Jacopo, who may be supposed to have known more about his father's views than any one else. The best likeness of him whom Guido da Polenta styles the "altissimo poeta" is probably that in the dim frescoes of the Bargello.

GIOVANNI VILLANI.

(1270-1348.)

The history of Florence may be said to have commenced with two writers, Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani, both born in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Villani was a merchant by profession, and, like Dante and so many others, he went to Rome in the year 1300, at the time of the indulgence which had been decreed by Boniface VIII. He was so impressed by what he saw that he determined to write a book about his native city, and in the preface he says that "the city of Florence, the daughter and handmaid of Rome, being destined for great fame, it is meet to set forth all that relates to her origin, and

thus, by the grace of Jesus Christ, in this year 1300, I, safely returned from Rome, did begin to compile this book in the fear of God, and of the blessed John, my patron (saint)."

Villani was the director of the mint (La Zecca) at Florence, and he had three times been a member of the Signoria, and five times ambassador to different states. He had occupied all kinds of posts, having had the superintendence of the erection of the ramparts of Florence, and having been selected to negotiate peace between Florence and Pisa, and afterwards between Lucca and his native city; while, when fighting against the famous Castruccio, he was made prisoner and detained as a hostage by Martino della Scala. He was a partisan of the Guelphs and a devoted son of the Church, though at the same time an advocate for communal rights; but he was less successful as a banker-merchant, his house, like those of the Acciaiuoli, the Bonaccorsi, the Cocchi, and the Corsini, having been involved in the disasters caused by the failures of the Peruzzi and the Bardi. He was completely ruined, and, in accordance with the corporation laws then in force, underwent a long term of imprisonment at Florence.

His chronicles throw no little light upon the economic side of Florence during the fourteenth century, and he may be described as the first of the political economists, one passage in his works telling us of his wish "to let posterity have some conception of the

wealth of the community, and of the causes which led up to it, so that in future men of knowledge may be able to increase the prosperity of Florence." He died of the plague in 1348, and his brother Matteo, an economist like himself, went on with his history.\*

## PASSAVANTI.

(1297-1357.)

"Specchio della Vera Penitenza" ("Mirror of the True Penitence")—such is the singular title of Jacopo Passavanti's work, which became, from a philological point of view, one of the most remarkable exemplars of the Italian language. It has nothing to recommend it in the way of imagination, for it is little more than a compilation from the Fathers of the Church, but it was no small achievement, in the first part of the fourteenth century, to express in the scarcely formed vulgar tongue the various shades of thought in a style at once pure, elegant, and graceful. These are the saving qualities of Passavanti's work.

He was of a noble Florentine family, and at the age of twenty joined the Dominican order at Santa Maria Novella, and soon gained a celebrity for learning and virtue. So high were the hopes entertained of him that the fathers sent him, in accordance with

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\* Matteo also died of the plague in the year 1363, and the history was continued by his son Filippo, the precise date of whose death is not known.







the custom of the day, to complete his studies at the University of Paris ; Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch being among the foreign celebrities who sojourned there. Passavanti, on his return from Paris, taught theology at Pisa, Siena, and Rome, and after attaining to the highest dignities in his order, and becoming in succession Vicar-General of Florence and Bishop of Monte Cassino, he died on the 15th of June, 1357.

He was best known to the Florentines as Prior of Santa Maria Novella, and he it was who commissioned Memmi and Gaddi to paint the famous frescoes in the church of that monastery where his bones are laid. An interesting quotation, as showing the place which Passavanti's "Specchio" occupied in the literary history of the sixteenth century, is extracted from the writings of the critics who were called in 1573 "the deputies for the revision of Boccaccio's 'Decameron.'" These remarks are as follow: "There was a certain Jacopo, a brother of Santa Maria Novella, about ten years Boccaccio's junior, who, in 1351, that is, about the same time as the 'Decameron,' published a treatise on 'Penitence' in the Latin tongue, which treatise he translated himself, and partly recomposed, into the vulgar tongue. His manner is very similar to that of Boccaccio ; and though he does not seem to make any attempt to be playful or amusing, the style is not devoid of delicacy. The language, too, is, for the time, pure, appropriate, sedate, and ornate, without

being pretentious, and the work is unquestionably calculated to charm those who read it."

Passavanti, like so many other authors, is no longer read; but it is astonishing to find how many of his ideas have been appropriated by the most eminent writers, and his "Speechio" is more amusing, in the ordinary sense of the word, than the title would lead one to infer. Most of the anecdotes with which it abounds refer to events in Paris, and there is much good-humor about the worthy monk, who urges upon his readers an introspective examination of their consciences.

#### PETRARCH.

(1304-1374.)

Vaucluse, to use Petrarch's own expression, is the "Transalpine Parnassus" of the poet; and the recollection of him is still as vivid in the ancient "county" of Avignon as in his native Tuscany. He was born at Arezzo, which, small as it is, has given birth to so many men of genius, on the 20th of July, 1304, and he came into the world at a time when his country was torn by faction, and when several of her most illustrious children were in exile. His father, who held the appointment of Notary in the Florentine Rolls Court, was a friend of Dante, and, proscribed like the latter, took refuge at Pisa, where he sent his son to study at the University. The death of Henry VII., which put an end to the last hopes of the exiles and inspired Dante with so splendid a canzone, led to

the final exile of Petrarch's father, who took up his residence at Avignon with the Papal Court of Clement V.

While the University of Montpellier was already celebrated, the south could boast at that time of those Courts of Love at which the Provençal poets met in friendly rivalry. Petrarch's father looked upon the study of law as the surest road to fortune for his son, and it is said that finding him on one occasion absorbed in Cicero, he took the book and cast it into the fire. Those who are predestined to be famous in letters are not, however, to be thus deterred, and Petrarch drank so deeply of the ancient writers that in his "Triumph of Fame" he calls Virgil, Cicero, and Seneca "the eyes of our language" (*questi son gli occhi de la lingua nostra*).

A brief sketch of his life will not come amiss before explaining by what strands he is connected with the genius of Florence, and fixing his place in the history of her literature: below Dante and above Boecaccio. His father, adhering to his resolve to make a lawyer of him, sent him from Montpellier, where he had spent four years, to the University of Bologna; here he studied first under Giacomo Andrea, and then under Cino da Pistoia. He was left an orphan at twenty, and his fortune having been squandered by his executors, he was obliged to return to Avignon, where he then gave himself up to his favorite studies.

He was twenty-three when he made the acquaintance of Colonna, Bishop of Lombez, whose affection for him exercised a very great influence upon the whole of his future career; and it is at this period, too, that began to dawn the passion which directed the course of his whole life, and inspired him with the sonnets by which he is known to us. Petrarch remains for posterity "the lover of Laura," and the fountain of Vaucluse has become the shrine of this affection, not less touching and ill-starred than that inspired by Beatrice, but more real and more vivid. It was under the influence of this stormy passion that Petrarch made his way through the south of France to Paris, Flanders, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, exhaling in all directions his amorous burden, like a bird stricken by a dart; and scattering his verses by the wayside.

Petrarch, however, was a citizen of the world, and he was of too practical a turn of mind to isolate himself in the ethereal Platonism which animates some of his writings. Pope John XXII. was intent upon restoring Rome to the Holy See, and Petrarch, inflamed by the idea of a fresh crusade, wrote the ode to the Bishop of Lombez which begins with the splendid invocation, "O aspettata in ciel," and in 1335 he wrote some magnificent Latin verses on the same subject to Pope Benedict XII.

But the image of Laura still haunted him, and he could not bring himself to settle anywhere. Colonna,

having become a cardinal, induced him to come to Rome, but he soon returned to Avignon, and went to reside in solitude at Vaucluse, leading a life of asceticism, and devoting himself wholly to the ideal figure of her upon whom all his thoughts were fixed. It was there that he wrote those sonnets and odes, which soon made him famous throughout Italy, and worthy to be compared with Dante himself.

In 1340 his name had become so celebrated that the Roman Senate invited him to return to that city and receive the honors of the Capitol, while the Chancellor of the University of Paris, which at that time enjoyed a world-wide celebrity, offered him similar honors on the banks of the Seine.

Petrarch repaired to Italy, first visiting Naples, where Robert of Anjou, a friend of literature, was surrounded by a Court composed of poets and men of learning. It was at Naples that he became intimate with Boetius, to whom he addressed such touching letters instinct with friendliness. Upon the 8th of April, 1341, he went up to the Capitol, twelve young Roman princes preceding him and reciting some of his finest compositions. Having reached the altar, he received the laurel wreath and the garlands of flowers woven by patrician hands. When he had received them, he laid them with reverence upon the altar, as much as to intimate that he owed his success to Divine favor, and after the ceremony was over he returned to Avignon, without casting one look behind.

The year following, as the Romans had commissioned him to make known their wishes to the Holy Father, Clement VI. appointed him Prior of Migliarino, in the diocese of Pisa, and he intrusted him with a mission at once confidential and perilous, to Naples, where the Holy Father claimed the regency. But the Princess Joan, a granddaughter of King Robert, who has left behind her a very bad reputation, would not listen to his representations, and he returned to Avignon, after a brief stay at Parma. He was, in his retreat, still accessible to the influence of generous ideas, and when Rienzi endeavored to restore the republic at Rome, Petrarch sent him his congratulations, and did not allow even the assassination of Cardinal Colonna to estrange him. But the phantom of a restored republic faded away with the death of Rienzi; and it was just about the same time that Laura was stricken down by the plague of 1348, which Boecaccio has depicted in such sinister colors.

The death of Laura, which inspired his most tender sonnets and filled him with such lasting sorrow, could not occupy his whole heart, and his duties as a man and a citizen were not forgotten. After a short visit to Louis Gonzaga at Mantua, in the country of his beloved Virgil, he wrote a letter to Charles IV., entreating him to restore peace to Florence; and in 1350 he was enabled to return there, spending some time with Boecaccio, and visiting his native Arezzo, where he had become a stranger. The plague drove



him from Florence, and in company with Boccaccio he visited Venice. As one by one his friends died and left him more solitary, his life became more austere and laborious. At Ferrara, where he went to see the Prince, he fell ill, and on getting better he took up his residence at Milan, where he passed the next nine years as the guest of the Visconti. In 1362 he settled at Padua, and in 1369 retired to the little village of Arqua, where on the 18th of July, 1374, he was found seated in his library with his forehead resting on a book. Death had overtaken him in this attitude of study so typical of his whole life. He was buried with great pomp, Francesco de Carrara acting as chief mourner, while all the nobility followed his coffin. He is buried in front of the door of the church at Arqua, and by his will he bequeathed all his valuable MSS. to the Republic of Venice, and left a small sum to his friend Boccaccio. Petrarch derived much of his inspiration from Dante, and there is a very great resemblance between the "Rime" of the former and the miscellaneous pieces from the latter's "Convito." In Petrarch's case his finest inspirations, those which go straight to the heart and keep the writer's name alive in future ages, are dictated by his passion for Laura, and he derived from his study of the ancient authors a clearness of style and a limpidity of thought which were in favorable contrast with the mysticism and obscure allegories of Dante. He assimilated the language, and was, in



spite of a few solecisms, a faultless Latin writer, having the fluency of Cicero, and writing prose like a poet—with a wealth, that is to say, of imagery. He was so well endowed, too, with the art of imitation that his writings may easily be mistaken for those of the poets at the end of the Empire, and in some instances he goes so far as to copy the very groundwork and method of certain Roman writers. His “Consolations” take one back entirely to antiquity, and in bidding a friend bear up under adversity he calls to his aid all the examples furnished by Roman history. He was richly endowed, no doubt, in imagination, but having been intimately mixed up in the practical affairs of his day, he has derived all his illustrations from contemporary life, or from facts testified to in the works of ancient authors.

Petrarch, in his wanderings, saw France during the fourteenth century in the hands of the enemy. He resided at Avignon, Montpellier, Bologna, Paris, Cologne, Naples, Genoa, Rome, Parma, Florence, Venice, Padua, Milan, and Prague. He was the friend of kings, the guest and correspondent of popes, and the pensioner of great nobles. He took part in various political combinations, and his reveries extended over many fields. He was more a man of letters than a devotee; and though a canon, a bishop, and a prior, he held such broad views on religion that he was the friend of Boccaccio, whom he gently chided, however, for the tone of his writings, exhort-

ing him to be more guarded in his expressions. When he wrote on religious subjects he, like Mareilio Ficino at a later date, referred for his facts to the philosophers and rhetoricians, and quoted Cicero and Seneca in preference to Holy Writ. He was impelled by a longing for solitude to reside at Vacluse and Arquà; but withal he was a man, and was moved by human ambition, and though he bore his triumphs with modesty, he was none the less eager in his pursuit of them. He was, in fact, more of a sage than a saint. He was endowed with a certain breadth of mind which prevented him from being held in bondage by the dreamy views of his age, and which kept him free from the errors of astrology and the prejudices of the time. He had no mission as a political partisan like Dante, having broader views and being less of a sectarian than the latter, and this enabled him to look down upon the human *mêlée* from the observatory to which he had ascended, and to watch the varying phases of the combat with disinterested eyes. At what he deemed the appropriate hour he wrote letters in behalf of justice to pontiffs and to emperors, speaking freely and impartially to the rulers, spiritual and temporal.

Eager for knowledge and study, he grieved that he could not read Homer in the Greek text, writing to Sygeros, "Your Homer lies dumb by my side; I am deaf to his voice, but still the sight of him rejoices me, and I often embrace him."

It has been asked whether the Laura who held so large a place in the life of the poet was a fiction or a living reality. She has been identified by some with Laura de Noves, daughter of Audibert de Noves, and she was already married when Petrarch saw her for the first time in the church of St. Claire at Avignon. He fell in love with her at first sight, and for twenty years preserved this passion in his heart as a fruitful source of inspiration. He loved her as one loves at twenty—with enthusiasm, candor, and chastity. He was three-and-twenty the day he first met her, and he had already assumed the priestly garb. As time went on his passion became more ardent, but she gave him no encouragement, and after an absence he returned to Avignon only to experience the same disappointment. Laura died of the plague in 1348, and he bewailed her loss in verses which are more profound, passionate, and truly beautiful than those in which he extols “her serene eyes, her beautiful angelic mouth, full of pearls, roses, and gentle words.” Some of the early “Rime” are rather mincing, but there is the accent of deep sorrow in the “Sonnets,” notably in the splendid lines :

“Morta colei che mi faceva parlare  
E che si stava de’ pensier’ mie’ in cima.”

In his despair he determined to abandon the world, and he wrote upon the fly-leaf of his Virgil the oath to fly from Babylon and to cut himself adrift from

all worldly ties. But, as M. Ghébart remarks in his "*Origines de la Renaissance*," "gifted writers like Petrarch do well not to deprive the world of their eloquence, their irony, their sagacity, and the resonant echo of their genius."

## ACCIAIUOLI (NICCOLÒ).

(1310-1365.)

The name of this family, though it was not indigenous to Tuscany, is a very common one at Florence. One branch of it settled in that city during the fourteenth century, and on the 12th of September, 1310, Niccolò, who was destined to be the glory of his house, was born there.

His principal field of action was Naples, whither he had gone as tutor to the young Prince Louis of Tarentum, son of Catherine of Valois, the widow of Philip, Prince of Tarentum.

Faithful to his employers, he shared the vicissitudes of the Court of Naples during the time of Queen Joan I., whom he accompanied to Avignon, and when Louis of Tarentum espoused her, Acciaiuoli had them crowned at Naples, and was appointed by the Queen Great Seneschal of the kingdom, this being the highest dignity to which he could aspire.

Driven from her Court by the King of Hungary, wandering from place to place, and ever in danger of some fresh disaster, the Queen was saved by Niccolò, who presented himself to the Florentines,

and implored their help for the granddaughter of King Robert of Naples, who had been their faithful ally.

Endowed with great energy and matchless dexterity, he raised an army and coped with the condottieri, who thought they had an easy prey. But the resources of the Court were exhausted, and the army, being kept waiting for its pay, went over to the enemy. Acciaiuoli died in 1365, and his biography was written by Matteo Palmieri, the Apostolic Secretary.

#### BOCCACCIO.

(1313-1375.)

Boecaccio may be regarded as the first classical prose writer of Italy, and to him belongs also the distinction of fully revealing to the Tusean people by his commentaries the genius of Dante.

I do not know upon what ground Dandolo, the author of the "Æsthetic Guide to Florence," makes his statement as to Paris having been the birthplace of Boecaccio, for the generally accepted belief is that he was born, as asserted in the *Osservatore Fiorentino*, at Certaldo in 1313.\* His father was a merchant, and it was against his wishes that his son embarked upon a literary career. Very well read in the ancient authors, he gave his preference to the vulgar tongue, and the first Italian author whom he read, and whose

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\* In "Il Filocopo," Boccaccio writing of himself in the character of Caleone, mentions Paris as his birthplace.

works he soon got to know by heart, was Dante. From him he derived his highest and best inspirations, including the substance of the eloquent speech which he delivered under the Duomo on the day that he vented his malediction on Florence for having closed her gates upon the most illustrious of her sons. The speech is still extant, and well deserves the reputation which it gained at the time.

He happened to be at Naples at the time when King Robert was receiving Petrarch with so much pomp. He made the poet's acquaintance, and learnt to admire and respect him, retaining until the day of his death a filial regard for him. Boccaccio, in his early days, was a thorough gallant, and having fallen in love with the daughter of the King of Naples, he gave utterance to his passion in one of his greatest works, "*La Fiammetta*," on the title-page of which he inscribed her name. He made but a brief stay at Florence, whither he was summoned by his father during the reign of the mad Duke of Athens, returning at once to Naples, where he enjoyed the favor of two queens, or of two daughters of queens, whose literary tastes were very highly developed. The death of his father brought him back to Tuscany, and he made Florence his permanent residence. It was there that he received Petrarch on his way to the jubilee at Rome after a separation of twenty years, and he set himself to recover for the exiled poet his rights of citizenship and his paternal inherit-



ance, which had been confiscated when his father, like Dante, was driven into exile. Boecaccio succeeded in obtaining from the Signoria a decree restoring this property to Petrarch.

There are two distinct individualities in Boecaccio, and yet Frenchmen and many other foreigners persist in estimating his character by the first part of his life only, associating his name with all that is sensuous and light. This may hold true of him while he was at the Court of Naples, and while he was composing amorous poetry in honor of his royal patroness; but after the year 1360 he devoted himself to more serious study, and followed in the wake of Accursi, the great juriconsult, seeking the companionship of the learned Greek philosophers from Byzantium who flocked to Florence, and even assuming the priestly garb. This conversion was mainly the work of Petrarch and of a Carthusian monk, and he might possibly have renounced writing altogether if it had not been for a remarkable letter in which Petrarch dissuaded him from giving up the composition of poetry, and urged him to use his pen to instil admiration for the beautiful, useful, and good.

It is certain, at all events, that he led a contemplative life during the last few years of his existence, devoting his whole thoughts to God, to the salvation of his own soul, and to his books. The death of Petrarch in 1374 affected him so deeply that he declared that he should not long survive him; and, as



a matter of fact, he died the following year. The will of this once brilliant courtier was a model of humbleness. He bequeathed to Bruna, the daughter of his friend Ciango de Montemagno, "a wooden bedstead, a feather-bed, a pair of good sheets, a small table upon which he was wont to take his meals, two table-cloths, two towels, and his monk's robe lined with purple." He bequeathed two holy images to the church of San Giacomo at Certaldo, where he died, and all his manuscripts to Martino da Signa, on condition that he allowed any one to take a copy of them. This comprised the whole fortune of the whilom favorite of the Court of Naples.

His tomb is not at Santa Croce, where one would expect to find it, between those of Dante and Machiavelli, but at Certaldo, where he had spent the last two years of his life. It has suffered many vicissitudes, too, having first been moved to make room for the organ, while in 1783, owing to a mistaken interpretation of the Grand Duke Leopold's decree as to burials inside of churches, the bones of the illustrious writer were removed from the coffin and deposited elsewhere. Filippo Villani has left a description of him which tallies very closely with the bust at Certaldo, and which, as we have every reason to believe, is correct. According to this description, the lips were half-parted with a smile; he was stout, and had a fresh complexion. The nose was rather flat, and though he had no pretensions to manly beauty, there

was an air of good-humor upon his pleasant face. It is the likeness, in short, of the poet of the "De-cameron" rather than of the philosopher of later years which the artist has left to us.

But a better insight into the character of a man is to be gained from the private correspondence in which he gives free expression to his thoughts; and when Francis, the son-in-law of Petrarch, announced to Boccaccio the latter's death, he wrote him a letter in Latin which shows how accessible his heart was to pity and veneration, and how deeply he was affected by his friend's death.

"My first impulse," he says, "was to come and weep with you over our mutual loss, and say a last farewell to our mutual father, but for the ten years that I have been lecturing in public upon Dante's 'Commedia' I have been afflicted with an infirmity which, though not dangerous, to a great extent paralyzes my movements. When I received your letter I wept all the night long, not out of sorrow for this worthy man (for the virtues with which he was endowed are a sure guarantee that he has entered into eternal happiness with his God), but because his death leaves me like a ship at sea without a pilot. Amid the agitation of my soul I thought of your anguish and of that of the worthy Tullia, your wife and my sister. As a Florentine I envy Arqua, which, hitherto obscure, will now become famous in the world's history. The traveller, as he sails along the Adriatic

on his way from the distant East, will look towards the Euganean hills, and will say to his companions, 'It is at the foot of those hills that rests Petrarch!' Oh, unhappy country, which will not hold the ashes of so illustrious a son! Thou hast not deserved this good fortune, for during his lifetime thou didst nothing to attach him to thee. Perhaps thou wouldst have done so had he been a worker of treason, and sullied with crime, or devoured by ambition and envy." A constant study of these favored epochs of literature may possibly make one feel all the more distaste for the foolish politics of the hour, and cause one to undervalue one's own epoch; but certain it is that the mind dwells fondly upon the names of such men as Dante, Boecaccio, Michael Angelo, and Donatello, who were as lofty in character as in genius, and the nobility of whose disposition pulsates through their writings.

Boecaccio was the first writer of romance, properly so called; the "story" and the poem in octavo in the vulgar tongue being his creation. To him we owe "Ameto," "Il Filostrato," "L'Amorosa visione," and "Il Ninfale fiesolano," poetic compositions of his youth, which have often been copied since, and which have served as types of a school. Of these the "Fiammetta," written in 1344, is regarded as his greatest work, while his "Life of Dante" was the first biography of the poet of the "Divina Commedia." He also wrote "The Genealogy of the Gods,"

"Illustrious Women," and "Illustrious Unfortunates," as well as a treatise upon mountains, forests, and rivers. If we consider the period at which this was written, we see how much he was ahead of his age as regards mythology, geography, literature, and philology. He was far advanced in years and near his end when he began the commentaries on Dante and the "Divina Commedia," and was accorded the privilege of occupying the pulpit of Santa Maria del Fiore, the people of Florence flocking to the church in crowds to hear the eloquent revelation of the beauties of a work which, notwithstanding the commentaries of Dante's own son, still remained obscure for the multitude.

It was upon one of these memorable occasions that he so fiercely stigmatized the crimes of the preceding generations of Florentines, making the vaulted roof of the Duomo ring with his indignant tirade: "Oh, Florence! what madness impelled you to drive out the most glorious of your children, one the like of whom no other city could ever hope to possess. What greater victories, and triumphs, and supremacy can you boast of? Your riches are uncertain, your beauty fragile and fleeting, your elegancies idle and frivolous; it is only those people, who judge more of appearance than reality, who can regard them as being glorious. Do you set great store by your merchants and your goldsmiths, by the ancient lineage and the celebrity of your great families? Unnatural

mother that you are, open your eyes and behold your misdeeds, and may remorse and repentance lay hold on you ! Your Dante, your son, died in exile, and it was you who sent him into banishment. His remains rest in foreign ground, and you will never see him before the last day. He treated you with filial respect, for he might have deprived you of his works, as you did not treat him with due honor. Yet, in return for his inspired writings, you deprived him of his right of citizenship. He was banished forever, and yet he remained a Florentine, preferring his native place to all the cities of Italy. Ask that his bones may be surrendered to you ; pay this last mark of respect to his mighty shade, and even if you do not feel any remorse, take this step in order that the burden of reproach may be less heavy upon you. Ask that his ashes may be restored to you ; and though I am certain that you will be refused, you will at least have shown that you are not altogether a stranger to feelings of pity. But it is perhaps a vain hope which I hold out to you, for the dead can neither feel nor understand. Dante will not emerge from his last resting-place at Ravenna, from that necropolis in which so many illustrious dead are buried ; and Ravenna, which knows the value set on her hospitality, knows, also, the value of the treasure which she possesses. The whole universe keeps watch over the remains of the greatest and most perfect genius ever born, and you, Florence, are left face to face with

your ingratitude, while it is this foreign city which in future ages will reap the glory which ought to have been yours."

The most popular of Boccaccio's works, the masterpiece which is the heritage of every great writer, and which becomes, so to speak, the peg to which his celebrity is affixed, is the "Decameron." As regards imagination and style, it stands alone. It gives a complete and lifelike picture of manners and customs at Florence in the fourteenth century. It is an epitome of Florentine habits, each class of society being depicted with a master hand in its pursuits, its passions, its good qualities, its defects. It is a mirror in which each class finds its own image reflected, and though the work is of a licentious tendency, which makes it unsuitable for the young, this is only an accessory feature. The "Decameron" is a frame for the display of contemporary pictures, and one of the tales from it, the episode of Griselda, was selected by Petrarch to translate into Latin.

#### COLUCCIO SALUTATI.

(1330-1406.)

The honor of taking rank immediately after Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio devolved upon Salutati, whose mission it was to correct the texts of the Greek and Latin authors, to form libraries and academies, and to see that the manuscripts tallied exactly with the originals. He had the reputation of being



the most elegant Latin scholar of his day, and as Pope Urban V. was anxious to have him as Apostolic Secretary, he was compelled to take holy orders. Being a widower at the time, he seemed likely to rise to the highest dignities in the Church, but the Pope having removed the Holy See to Avignon, Coluccio, not feeling any decided vocation for a religious life, threw off his priestly robes and remained in Italy, where he soon contracted a second marriage.

As soon as it was known that he was free, several sovereigns and princes invited him to come and reside at their Court, but though he had acted as Chancellor of Perugia, and had gone thence to the Court of Rome, he was unwilling to leave Florence, where he had accepted, in 1375, the post of Chancellor, with the arduous task of conciliating the interests and appeasing the cravings of Guelphs and Ghibellines, and of the many Florentine families which were at daggers drawn with each other.

For thirty years Salutati discharged these duties with unquestioned authority, and he became the model secretary of the Republic, after whom Gianozzo Manetti, Leonardo Bruni, and Carlo Marsuppini shaped their conduct. The duty of corresponding with crowned heads devolved upon him, and he was equal to the task of upholding the interests of the country, of forming alliances in the hour of danger, and of averting perils of various kinds.

He occupied a very prominent place in Florentine



politics during the fourteenth century, and he possessed sufficient influence to take the lead in very important negotiations, as when at the time of the great Papal schism he wrote to Innocent VII. urging him to put an end to a scandal which threatened to be the ruin of the Church. The celebrated John Galeas Visconti, when ready to make war with Florence, declared that he dreaded the arguments of Salutati more than a great army. His manifestoes are abiding proofs of his political genius, just as they are masterpieces of literature and eloquence.

Politics, however, did not make him forget his fondness for literature, as was shown when Giuliano Sanseverino in the University of Bologna, and John de San Miniato, a monk of the Camaldoli order, at Florence, forbade their hearers to read the ancient poets and the profane writers of antiquity. It was in answer to them that he composed some Latin verses which were so much admired that he received, as Petrarch had done, the honors of a public demonstration. But before the laurel wreath could be placed upon his brows he had passed away, in the seventysixth year of his age, and from the account of his funeral at Santa Maria Novella which has been handed down to us, we learn that the ceremonial was the same as that afterwards observed at the obsequies of Leonardo Bruni and Marsuppini, the Gonfaloniere in office mounting the platform upon which the coffin rested, and placing upon the forehead of the defunct the

laurel crown. His "Political Letters" are regarded as his greatest work, but little of what he wrote has been published. The Latin poems which appear in the third volume of the "Illustrious Italian Poets" are well known, and his "Political Letters" have been edited in turn by Abbé Méhus and Lami, but they are far from being complete.

There is to be seen in the church of Fiesole the tomb of a bishop named Salutati, who died in 1466, and who very possibly may have belonged to the same family. This prelate, whose tomb is one of the finest creations of Mino da Fiesole, was famous as a juriconsult, and he wrote several works on civil and canon law. A great favorite of Pope Eugenius IV., Nicholas V. continued to treat him with affection, and made him Bishop of Fiesole in 1450.

Some writers have attributed this handsome monument, which is such a credit to the church within which it is erected, to the first of the Salutati, but works of art possess the double merit of being beautiful in themselves and of becoming, in course of time, historical documents. The monument in question is signed and dated, so that there can be no question as to its having been carved by Mino.

FRANCO SACCHETTI.

(1335-1410.)

Racy, and at times rather loose in his stories, Sacchetti is not gifted with the same inventive powers

as Boccaccio, and he is more the reflex of others than a type by himself. But he has plenty of spirit, and it is evident that he shares with his readers the amusement which he is trying to make them feel. His "Tales" possess a considerable amount of interest from the fact that Sacchetti, who was much mixed up in the course of contemporary events, introduced into his stories characters taken from real life, gathering up anecdotes still fresh about Dante, Giotto, and other men of note. He brings them vividly before our eyes, and writers such as Vasari, Scipione Ammirato, and others still more celebrated, have been glad to make use of information derived from his writings.

He came of a very good family, having been a son of Franco di Benci d'Uguccione. He was connected with the Dante family, and was surnamed the Good (*il Buono*). His first literary efforts were in the poetical line, and he was classed among the imitators of Petrarch. He held public office at Faenza and San Miniato, was Captain of the Florentine province in the Romagna, Ambassador to Genoa, and Podestà at Bibbiena. It is believed that he wrote his "Tales" at Casentino. The copy which I have examined contains about 258, and he is not particular in the choice of a subject, so long as it is an amusing one, being racy to the verge of licentiousness. Some fifteen of them, however, are of a different character, the heroes being such men as Dante and Giotto, and

it is worthy of note that while several austere writers are immoral in their lives, he, with all his light and fanciful stories, is at bottom full of honesty and uprightness.

Saechetti had three wives, all of illustrious descent; the first being a Strozzi, the second a Gherardini, and the third the daughter of Francesco di ser Santi Bruni, and for six-and-twenty years there was a fourth lady who inspired his poems, and to whom he dedicated his compositions. He had two sons; one, Philip, being a poet, while the other, Nicholas, was Gonfaloniere of Justice in 1419.

There is much to admire about him, for he was at once a patriot and a gentleman. His genial humor, as well as the incidents he related concerning the most noted men of his time, have kept his name alive. His public career was a successful one, and his writings are instinct with force and good-humor. He died at the age of seventy-five, beloved by his contemporaries, and his writings, extending from grave to gay, comprise Sermons, Letters, and a burlesque poem (of which a new edition was published as recently as 1819) called "*La Battaglia delle Vecchie con le Giovane*," the very title of which shows how amusing it must have been in the hands of a writer so gifted with humor. He was, little as he may have imagined such to be the case, both an artist and an historian.

## BONACCORSO PITTI.

(1335-1425.)

Pitti is an ancestor of the great Pitti of the fifteenth century, after whom the royal palace at Florence is still named, and his reputation as a chronicler is well deserved. He may, indeed, be described as one of the originators in Italy of that form of literature, which, under the name of "Memoirs," is so much appreciated at the present time.

He belonged to the Neri and to the Pitti; that is to say, to a family which had always occupied a high position in the State, and which, by means of the wealth subsequently acquired in trade, became the equal of princes and a rival of the Medici.

His life was one long romance, and his adventures are comparable with those of Benvenuto Cellini, Casanova, and the Chevalier Eon. He became a type for the anecdotal history of the Florentines, and the real value of the memoirs which he has left is that they give us a realistic picture—making due allowance for exaggeration—of the life of a great number of Florentines at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Fond of gaming and duelling, a libertine, adventurous, very well read, crafty, skilful in trade, quite capable of a serious demeanor when he pleased, full of ambition, activity, and courage, and with an aptitude for rising with the tide without allowing it to carry him off his feet, he played the most opposite parts, and







engaged in all kinds of business, while there was not a country in Europe which he did not visit at one time or another.

He was one of those many Lombards who during the fourteenth century went in quest of fortune all over the world. They combined trade and gambling, speculation and politics, ever ready to induce the public to make hazardous investments or to lend them money at a high rate of interest. Rolling in wealth one day, they lived like princes, while the next they could not muster the money to pay their hotel bill. Every now and then they returned to their country and took part in the struggle of parties, with the result that they often rose to power if they did not lose their lives in the fray. Bonaccorso went through all these adventures, and was famous for his gallantries in Bavaria. He gained the friendship of the Dukes of Orleans and Berri in Paris, when, in company with Bernardo da Cino, another financial adventurer of the same kidney, he went thither from Avignon, where they had been endeavoring to effect a reconciliation between the Anti-pope Benedict XIII. and Boniface IX. This forms a singularly interesting episode in his life, as he went through all sorts of vicissitudes at play; and fought a duel with Montluc. Nevertheless he succeeded in being looked upon as a man of genuine importance by the Florentines, who sent him to seek the alliance of the French King against the Duke of Milan; and in 1418 his

son Luca was in a position to be a freeholder, and to purchase the house and land of the defunct Roberto de Rossi for four hundred and fifty gold florins. This is the site of the great Pitti Palace.

Towards the close of his life, tired, in all probability, of scouring the world, Buonaccorso settled down at Pescia, which is the last place referred to in his memoirs, and it was there that he wrote the story of his life from day to day, his dashing style reminding one, as I have said, of Cellini and Casanova. He noted down every detail, and mixed with the happiest effect the anecdotes of his private life with the more important events of history. When the assassination of the Duke of Orleans, which was destined to exercise so much influence upon the course of French history, occurred (November 23, 1407), his diary contains the note: "I made a hundred gold florins to-day by a bargain in wool." He was at that time master of the horse to the Duke of Orleans.

In 1423 he was still captain at Castellaro in the Romagna, and by his orders seven inhabitants at Forli, who had schemed to open the gates of the city to the Duke of Milan, were beheaded.

His memoirs were not published until 1720, three centuries after he wrote them, the title being, "*Cronica de Buonaccorso Pitti, con Annotazioni. Firenze, 1720, in quarto.*"

## AGNOLO PANDOLFINI.

(1360-1446.)

Gifted with profound wisdom, Pandolfini is the type of the upright citizen who, so far from seeking honors, has them forced upon him. He was a genial writer and moralist, too, and his book, entitled "*Il Governo della Famiglia*," is one of the standard works in Italy. Tiraboschi and Quinqueni, who are nearly always trustworthy, do not speak of Pandolfini, doubtless because he was not a brilliant writer. But if he did not distinguish himself by any great action, his career was a useful and benevolent one. Born at Florence in 1360, and the son of a merchant who had made his fortune at Naples, he was, from an early age, independent, and being a man of considerable erudition and full of wisdom, he was twice elected to the Signoria, in 1397 and 1408; and was three times Gonfaloniere of Justice.

The Republic sent him on missions to Martin V., the Emperor Sigismund, and King Ladislaus, from the latter of whom he obtained the cession of the territory of Cortona, as an indemnity for the losses sustained during the Naples campaign. In 1414, 1420, and 1431 he occupied the post of Gonfaloniere, and he was invariably called upon to arbitrate between his fellow-citizens in their ever-recurring intestine quarrels. With the sagacity for which, as I have said, he was famous, he had foreseen the disasters of

Lucca, and had done all in his power to dissuade the Balia from entering upon that war. He was the friend of Cosimo the Elder, whose influence he constantly seconded, and when the latter was exiled, his protests brought about his recall. He was less successful in regard to Palla Strozzi, who was a relative of his wife's, and took his exile so much to heart that he withdrew from public life. He led a very peaceful existence at his villa of Ponte a signa (or Gangalandi), universally respected, ever ready to show hospitality to great and small, receiving the visits of sovereigns and pontiffs, and anticipating with a serene conscience the approach of death. It was here that he wrote his "*Il Governo della Famiglia*," in language as elevated as the ideas expressed in it. A very lucid summary of this book, though only extending over fifteen pages, is due to the pen of Dandolo.

LEONARDO BRUNI ARETINO.

(1369-1443.)

Leonardo Bruni, who is buried at Santa Croce, in the splendid tomb erected at the cost of the Florentine Republic by Bernardo Rossellino, was one of the revivers of Greek and Latin literature in the fifteenth century, and the sphere of his action was altogether pacific. His only connection with politics was when he was employed upon some conciliatory mission, or in rendering homage to some foreign sovereign or the chief of some neighboring state. He was famous for

his learning and eloquence, and his character seems to have stood as high as his learning.

Leonardo, born at Arezzo, was educated at Florence, just when the study of Greek was being brought into vogue by the influence of the savants who had come from Constantinople. He studied under Manuel Chrysoloras, and through the influence of Poggio he was appointed Apostolic Secretary to Pope Innocent VII., who was inclined to think him too young when he first saw him, though, on coming to cross-question him, he recognized the young man's great abilities. The successors of that pontiff retained him in their service, and he held the same post under Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXIII.

The Republic of Florence, anxious to secure a citizen of such merit, appointed him Chancellor, a post which he retained until the time of his death.

When the Council of Constance deposed John XXIII., Leonardo, looked upon as a rebel, fled with him on foot, incurring, during three days, dangers of every kind and great privations.

Like this pontiff, who died there and was interred in the baptistery of San Giovanni, in a superb tomb carved by Donatello, he found refuge at Florence, and in 1415, while in peaceful retirement at Arezzo, wrote the "History of Florence," a manuscript copy of which is to be found in every Italian library. This work produced a great sensation, and the Florentine Government sent him the freedom of the city

and settled upon him a pension, the reversion of which was to go to his children. It was then that he was induced to accept the post of Chancellor, and he died while in office, his conduct shedding an additional lustre upon this dignified post.

He was a man of noble demeanor and tried probity, his high character manifesting itself in every act of his life. All the foreigners who passed through Florence were anxious to make his acquaintance and pay him their respects, while upon one occasion a learned Spaniard, who had been presented to him, insisted upon remaining on his knees all the time that the audience lasted. He died suddenly in 1443, to the deep regret, not of Florence alone, but of all Italy.

The Republic intrusted the celebrated Gianozzo Manetti with the preparation of the funeral oration. The coffin was placed upon a platform on the piazza of Santa Croce, and Manetti laid a wreath upon the brow of the dead man, upon whose breast had been deposited a copy of his "History of Florence." Bernardo Rossellino, who had been instructed to erect the mausoleum, took this ceremony for his subject, and left behind him a work which is justly regarded as one of the most perfect ever shaped by human hands.

His native Arezzo, jealous of Florence, was anxious to rival her by rendering the last homage to his remains, but Florence would not part with them.

His works are very numerous, consisting for the

most part of translations from Latin and Greek manuscripts and historical works, though he also wrote several biographies, including those of Dante and Petrarch. The best account of this learned man, who interests us all the more because his image is brought so vividly before us by the chisel of Rossellini while so many other men of the fifteenth century are mere abstractions, is to be gained from the work of Abbé Méhus.

## POGGIO BRACCIOLINI.

(1380-1459.)

Poggio, born at Terranuova in the territory of Florence in 1380, sometimes called Poggio Fiorentino, from having been a Chancellor of the Republic.

His early studies were made at Florence, from which city he proceeded to Rome, where he was employed in the Papal Secretary's department. He remained there for half a century, continuously engaged in profound study and in the drawing up of Bulls and Briefs. He was deep in the confidence of successive popes, and employed upon missions of the most delicate nature. He was present at the Council of Constance, and whenever Martin V. and Eugenius IV. made a journey on Church affairs he formed one of their suite. Poggio, in one of his letters, says that he cannot remember having, during his fifty years' service at the same Court, remained a year in the same town.



His specialty as a savant was Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and he took advantage of his continued travels to unearth forgotten manuscripts, thereby rendering great service to literature. He travelled through the whole of Germany and Switzerland, visiting all the depositories of manuscripts, and often making valuable discoveries. He was seventy-two years of age when the Holy Father allowed him to go and reside at Florence, the Republic having induced him to accept the post of Chancellor. But he soon found that the duties which it involved were beyond his strength, and he retired from public life, writing at his retreat in the suburbs his "History of Florence," which embraces the events that occurred from 1350 to 1453. This work was in Latin, and it was his son Giacomo Bracciolini who translated it into the vulgar tongue.

The other literary achievements of Bracciolini are his translation into Latin of Xenophon's "Cyropædia" and of the first five books of Diodorus of Sicily. In the philosophical line he has left a work entitled "Historia Convivialis," and several moral treatises, including "Avarice, Nobility, the Wretchedness of Human Affairs," and "The Misfortunes of Princes and Vicissitudes of Fortune." Many of his Epistles and Orations have also been preserved, and they are all remarkable for the perfect Latin in which they are couched.

Poggio was very severe upon the savants of his

age, and being jealous, irascible, and always inclined to carp at others, he was constantly engaged in controversies, which were carried on in a spirit of violence of which we can scarcely form an adequate idea at the present time. It has been thought that he was animated by some special dislike for Francesco Filelfo, about whom he wrote four pamphlets, in which he accused him of all the evil deeds which a human being could well commit, but these are not so strong as the five pamphlets directed against Lorenzo Valla, the Hellenist and Secretary of the King of Naples, who translated the *Iliad*, and Herodotus and *Æsop*. Guarino of Verona was not spared, nor were the Bishop of Feltro, Jacopo Zeno, and the Duke of Savoy. So bitter was he that he vented his wrath upon communities, involving them all in one common condemnation. He was very learned, and had a European reputation, but for all that, hatred is the distinguishing characteristic by which he is known.

## CARLO MARSUPPINI.

(1399-1453.)

Carlo Marsuppini and Leonardo Bruni cannot well be spoken of apart. They were contemporaries, both had the same career and much the same intellectual tendencies, and both had the good fortune to be handed down to posterity in the work of men of genius.

While Rossellino has enshrined to us the features

of Leonardo Bruni, Desiderio da Settignano has immortalized the name of Carlo Marsuppini by the monument in Santa Croce, which is opposite that erected to the former.

Gregory, the father of Carlo, was Governor of Genoa under Charles VI. From Genoa he came to Florence, where he acquired, in 1431, the rights of citizenship. Carlo was intrusted to the care of John of Ravenna, who encouraged him to study ancient literature. He chose the scholastic career, and was a candidate for the professorship of literature at the University of Florence. This post having been given to Filelfo, Carlo became his bitter enemy, and when the former was banished from Florence in 1434, he succeeded to the vacant post.

As his pupils comprised two nephews of Pope Eugenius IV., the latter, in return, appointed him Apostolic Secretary, and in 1444 he took the place of Chancellor of the Florentine Republic left vacant by the death of his compatriot, Leonardo Bruni. It was in this quality that he presented an address to the Emperor Frederick III., when the latter passed through Florence in 1452; the reply was made by Æneas Sylvius, destined to become one of the most famous of the popes, under the title of Pius II., and who was at that time secretary to the Emperor. Æneas Sylvius made an impromptu reply, and Marsuppini, who was expected to make a second speech in answer to this, was at a loss what to say. This

incident caused great excitement at the time, for Marsuppini was obliged to turn round to his neighbor Manetti, and ask his assistance. His real abilities do not appear, however, to have been called into question, for the famous Matteo Palmieri was instructed to prepare a funeral oration, and to place a wreath upon him after death, as had been done in the case of his predecessor.

We have no direct proof of his ability, for he left very few works behind him; but Poggio, whose excellent judgment is beyond all doubt, introduces Marsuppini as one of the characters in his dialogue "*De Infelicitate*," and both Flavio Biondo and Platina have spoken in very eulogistic terms of him.

His best-known work was a translation in hexameters of the singular poem attributed to Homer, "*The Batrachomyomachie*," the first edition of which was published in Parma in 1492. His letters, like those of Leonardo Bruni, are highly interesting, for he was in more or less frequent intercourse with the most celebrated men of the day. Many personal details concerning him are to be found in the "*Vossian Letters*" of Apostolo Zeno and in *Vespasiano Fiorentino*.

Those two tombs of Leonardo Bruni and of Marsuppini do honor to human genius, for Greek art itself has produced nothing more perfect, and if the names of the two men who are buried in them had not been kept alive by the merit of their own works

the sculptors who have carved their likenesses in marble would have immortalized them. Carlo Mar-suppini died at the age of fifty-four, and the funeral oration pronounced by Palmieri is still extant.

His name, together with that of Gianozzo Manetti and Leonardo Bruni, constantly recurs in the history of the little courts of the Romagna and the Marches, for he was continually being employed as an intermediary between the Vatican and the princes who were attached to the Holy See as Vicars of the Church, such as the Estes, the Montefeltros, the Malatestas, and even the Sforzas.

#### BRUNELLESCHI.

(1377-1446.)

As an architect Filippo di ser Brunelleschi deserves a place apart among the artists of his day, for he unquestionably comes first of the reformers who, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, substituted in place of Gothic architecture the ancient forms adapted to modern requirements. But it need hardly be said that so important a movement, destined to effect a complete revolution in its way, could not be the work of one man. A whole generation of thinkers and artists concurred to carry it through when once the idea was "in the air," to use a modern phrase, and when everything was tending towards its development. Dante himself was one of the pioneers, and Giotto, Orcagna, Arnolfo di Lapo, and John of Pisa

were, almost unknown to themselves, travelling in the same direction. Their style was more chaste than that of their predecessors ; they had a clearer perception of their purpose and ideas, and having the courage to be simple in their designs at a time when the grotesque was still in fashion, they extricated, in their architectural conceptions, the shape and the line from among the mass of parasitical decoration which concealed the trunk and the branches of the majestic tree.

Brunelleschi still further accentuated the transition, while Ghiberti, Masaccio, Donatello, Mino da Fiesole, and Alberti, following in the same track, completed the transformation. The human countenance, still enveloped in the conventional primness, which was not without a grace of its own, gradually became more animated, the figure lost its stiffness, the body ceased to be motionless, and the eyes, hitherto closed to the light, flashed with all the warmth of passion and of life. The victory over marble was, in other words, won. These innovators in architecture, after having endeavored to adopt a middle course between their aspirations and the respect which they felt for their predecessors, eventually put their veto upon the original style, and instead of allowing the cathedrals to be enveloped in gloom, as they were in the Middle Ages, when sinister symbols and mysterious devices were all the fashion, they let in floods of light through their spacious porticos. The new style of



architecture expressed at once strength, nobility, and simplicity, a new system being created out of the elements of the old.

Simple, logical, and grand without effort, based solely upon the law of propositions and the mutual relation of different parts with each other, the new architecture, though evidently inspired by antiquity, had its individual grace and elegance, while its originality consisted in its being appropriated to the requirements of the country without any concession which was not compatible with the climate, the nature of the materials, and the customs of the time. Ornamentation occupied merely a secondary, almost an accessory position, being only employed in the new system to indicate the various members and the main divisions. At no time, it may safely be asserted, were the waters which issued from this source, and which gradually formed a torrent of genius spreading throughout Italy, more pure and wholesome than at the fountain-head. Lombardi, Leopardi, Bramante, and Fra Giocondo showed themselves to be gifted with elegance in detail, as they were full of force and grace in their conception. But they never recovered that chaste grandeur, characteristic of the beginning of the fifteenth century, which so commands our admiration as to prevent our doing full justice to the sixteenth century, rich as that also was in every branch of intellectual industry.

It is interesting to trace the process which led



Brunelleschi, the successor of Giotto, Arnolfo di Lapo, and Taddeo Gaddi, all devoted to Gothic art, to break openly with these tendencies and to strike out in a new direction, and this can best be done by describing briefly the circumstances of his life. He was born at Florence in 1377, and the date is an important one to remember, for it marked the passing away of the Middle Ages and the germ of the Renaissance. He arrived at manhood as the fifteenth century, of which he was destined to become one of the bright lights, was just dawning.

When one-and-twenty years of age Brunelleschi, who had objected to following the profession of notary, had already given striking proof of his capacity in mechanical constructions of every kind, and all further attempt to make him adopt any other career was abandoned. He entered the Goldsmiths' College, and was, like most great artists, enrolled among the adepts of this profession. The goldsmith's art was a very good school of training, requiring as it did inventive powers, elegance, a great dexterity of touch, and some knowledge of all kinds of drawing; while the qualities of the designer are called forth in the general composition, those of the sculptor in the execution of the figures, and those of the painter in the harmonization of all the colored parts.

His earliest and most intimate friend was Donatello, in whose society he passed all his youth, afterwards making a long stay with him at Rome, and travelling

with him both at home and abroad. After having executed several works of sculpture he made his *début* as an architect, and became engaged in various undertakings in and around Florence. It was during this first part of his life that he devoted his attention to the science of perspective with sufficient detail to be able to draw up all the rules, and make of them a guide for the instruction of his pupils and friends. It is even said that Masaccio derived his knowledge of this art from Brunelleschi. He did not, however, give up sculpture, and between the years 1398 and 1404 he carved that figure of Christ in Santa Maria Novella, which has become famous as having given rise to the misunderstanding between him and Donatello, whom he reproached with having given too material an expression to the Divine countenance.

In the beginning of the century the celebrated competition for the execution of the Baptistery gates was opened, the competitors being Lorenzo Ghiberti, Jacopo della Quercia, Simone da Colle, Francesco di Valdambrina, and Niccolò d'Arezzo.

There is a story told by Vasari, and it has never been controverted, that Ghiberti and Brunelleschi having been called upon to treat the same subject (the Sacrifice of Abraham), the latter spontaneously adjudged the prize to the former, a mark of generosity very characteristic of him. It is quite certain that, whether the story is true or not, Ghiberti was awarded the prize, and that he carved the gates, but it is in-

teresting to compare the two designs in bronze, which may be seen in the Bargello.

It was after this competition that Brunelleschi went to Rome with Donatello. On arriving there he withdrew from all external affairs, and with the proceeds of the sale of a small property at Settignano devoted himself to the study of her monuments. It is easy to conceive what ancient Rome was like in 1405, and with what transports of admiration it must have inspired two such artists as Brunelleschi and Donatello. They seem to have lived in a continual fever, making drawings, being present at all the excavations, and conducting some on their own account; spending whole days among the ruins, measuring palaces, temples, and baths, and endeavoring to discover the secret of their splendor. Brunelleschi gradually came to comprehend the principle of each of the orders of architecture employed by the architects of antiquity, reasoning out the use of the various forms, and restoring those parts which had been destroyed by time. Thus it was that he conceived the idea of discarding the contorted and complicated forms of the degenerate Gothic architecture of the day, and of adapting to the requirements of his own times those which had been employed by the ancients, though a man of so much taste and imagination was naturally desirous to make the various parts of his work harmonize, and to combine the new forms which he was anxious to employ with those adopted by his predecessors.

It was in the seclusion of the Eternal City that he elaborated his plan for the completion of Santa Maria del Fiore, the Duomo of Florence, which had been left unfinished since the death of Arnolfo di Cambio. It is quite certain that he had made a special study of the vaulted roofs of Thermæ and Pantheons, with the firm intention of immortalizing his name by finishing the cupola of Santa Maria.

Donatello having left him at Rome in order to carry out the many works which he had undertaken at Florence, Brunelleschi continued his studies with redoubled ardor, but having been attacked with fever, he also left Rome and returned to his native city. This was the time when the completion of the Duomo was being pressed forward, but the task of bridging over the immense space seemed an impossibility to most of the architects and engineers who were called in. The most ludicrous suggestions were made, and after a general meeting of the committee, Brunelleschi, thinking that his opinion was not received with sufficient deference, went back to Rome. The committee, however, induced him to return and give them the benefit of his advice.

His idea was that a competition should be opened to artists of every nationality, each one making a model, though he made no secret that his own plan would be that of an arch in one span. A great many of those who were present scoffed at the idea of such a thing, but the competition was opened in accord-

ance with his advice, and his model, the existence of which he had kept secret, was at last accepted. But a few months afterwards, Lorenzo Ghiberti, who had just obtained a great success by the execution of his famous "Gate of Paradise," was appointed his assistant, and Brunelleschi, who was much vexed at the interference, and who knew that Ghiberti had no aptitude for this description of work, resorted to a very ingenious stratagem for getting rid of him. He took to his bed, and pretended to be too ill to attend to the work. Ghiberti was soon involved in hopeless difficulties, and the committee compensating him for what he had done, left Brunelleschi to finish the work by himself.

This was the great achievement of his life, the one which has immortalized his name, and which has unquestionably exercised the greatest influence. Michael Angelo, as he looked up at Santa Maria del Fiore before he commenced the dome of St. Peter's, is reported to have exclaimed, "I will take you and project you into the sky."

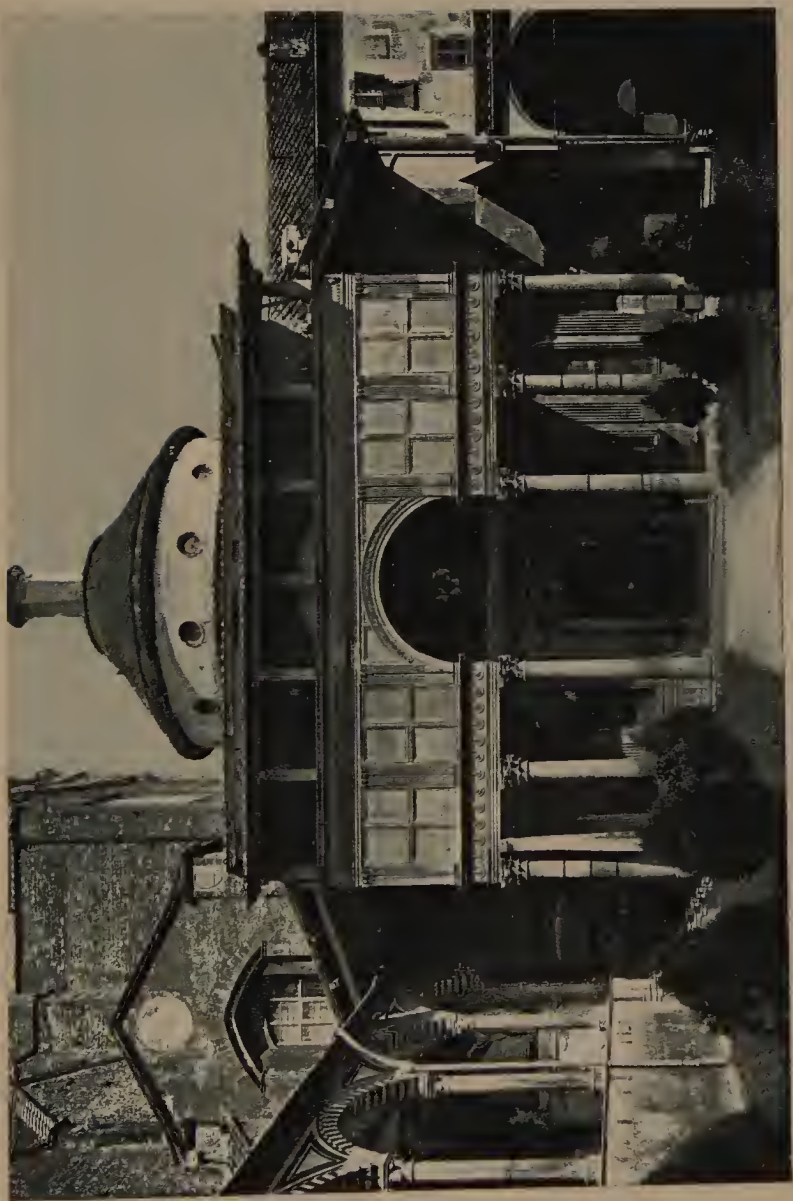
His suggestion was an octagonal cupola resting upon a drum pierced with windows, which would serve the double purpose of letting in plenty of light and of lessening the weight. The artistic part of the work, the arrangement, the architectural lines, and the decorative combinations are equally interesting, and when one has lived at Florence long enough to go into the details of this work, one cannot but ad-

mire the grandeur of the lines employed by Brunelleschi, and the ingenious way in which he adapted to a Gothic building the new style which he had introduced. In order thoroughly to appreciate the grand general effects obtained by the men of genius who designed the curves of the Pantheon at Rome, of Santa Maria del Fiore, and of St. Peter's, one must contemplate on the horizon, from the heights of the Pineio or of Fiesole, these bold constructions as they stand out in the twilight, casting a bluish shadow upon the golden background of the setting sun.

Brunelleschi, being commissioned by the Pazzi family to build a private chapel in Santa Croce, erected a building which redounds very much to his credit, for it is elegant in detail and full of grandeur in its general effect. He employed the Corinthian style, and with the aid of Luca della Robbia obtained some very novel effects by applying to the decoration of the panels and ceilings the majolica ware discovered by the latter, the result showing how much a man of genius could make out of this art of glazed terracotta.

The interior of the chapel, to the decoration of which Luca della Robbia also contributed, is so vast and imposing that in 1565 four thousand friars met there, the privilege of using this chapel being accorded to the chapter of Santa Croce by the Pazzi family.









Brunelleschi was also the architect of the handsome portico in the Piazza dell' Annunziata which forms the façade of what in his day was called the Ricovero dei Gettatelli (or Foundling Hospital). The beauty and simplicity of these buildings, the sole richness of which consists in their elegance of shape, seeing that they are destined for such a humble purpose, can only be fully appreciated from the interior. The hospital of the Innocents was begun in 1421, the Council being stimulated to undertake the work by an eloquent appeal from Leonardi Bruni. On the 24th of January, 1444, it was opened and the management placed in the hands of the Guild of Silk Workers.

Filippo Maria Visconti sent for Brunelleschi to build him a fortress at Milan; and he was afterwards employed to erect the citadels of Vicopisano, Pisa, and Pesaro.

The church of San Lorenzo at Florence, which contains the tombs of the Medici, and was erected at the expense of Giovanni d'Averardo and of Cosimo, Father of his Country, is also his work. He had proposed to erect the Medici Palace upon a much more sumptuous scale than was afterwards adopted, but Cosimo deemed his plan too magnificent, and Brunelleschi, who had set his heart upon building for the House of Medici a palace of unparalleled splendor, destroyed his model. He began for the Scolari family the curious temple Degli Angeli, which was

never completed, as the money which had been set apart for it was spent on the Lucca war.

The Pitti Palace is also his work, and as the family for which he built had not the means of going on with it, Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence, wife of Cosimo, purchased it, and spent an immense sum upon its completion. It is a heavy building, and so many changes have been made by successive architects that it does not produce nearly the effect it should. In 1549 the Pitti Palace became a royal residence, and Ammanati added to it the handsome courtyard upon which the three inner façades look.

The services of Brunelleschi were now in request throughout the whole of Italy. In 1445 the Marquis of Mantua wanted him for the Signoria, while Francesco Sforza was treating with him for the fortifications of Pisa, and at about the same time he undertook the building of the Barbadori Palace and the Casa Giuntini at Florence.

Brunelleschi was the leading architect of the fifteenth century, and when he died on the 16th of April, 1446, he was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore, beneath that dome which he raised to such a height that from afar the traveller sees it as he approaches the city.

Buggiano, a sculptor of no great renown, carved the bust over his tomb, and the following inscription, composed by Marsuppini, shows in what esteem he was held by his contemporaries :

D. S.

“Quantum Philippus architectus arte Dædalæ valuerit ; cum hujus celeberrimi templi mira testudo, tum plures machinæ divino ingenio ab eo adinventæ documento esse possunt. Quapropter, ob eximias sui animi dotes, singularesque virtutes ejus b. m. Corpus XV kal. Maias anno MCCCCXLVI in hac humo supposita grata patria sepeliri jussit.”

It cannot be said that as regards the number of works executed, this great artist can compare with many of his compatriots, for, with the exception of the Pazzi Chapel at Santa Croce, he never had an opportunity of erecting a complete monument, and even this chapel is only an annex to the great church. But he was a forerunner, and so gifted with great inventive powers that it is not perhaps too much to describe him as the greatest man of his age in his own domain. Alberti, of course, played a great part, Leonardo da Vinci was a prodigy of genius, and Michael Angelo knows no rival, but Brunelleschi holds his own, and merits a prominent place in the Pantheon of Florentine celebrities. His ashes are not in Santa Croce, and it is meet that he should rest in Santa Maria del Fiore, the scene of his greatest labors and triumphs.

LEO BATTISTA ALBERTI.

(1404-1472.)

Alberti did not contribute so much as Brunelleschi to this renovation of the arts, but, like all those who

propagate the ideas of others by the pen, his influence was very considerable. Upon the one hand there are the silent and secluded artists, whose province it is to produce and to prove the reality of progress by marching in advance of their contemporaries, while, upon the other, there are the men of critical mind who, more closely identified with the movement of their time, while not idle themselves, draw conclusions from the works of others, and regulate the final laws of the new art in which they have been the forerunners. Alberti belonged to this second category, and while putting the principles of Brunelleschi into practice, he brought them within the understanding of the whole world, and did much to propagate the new ideas. Leonardo da Vinci, Daniel Barbaro, Fra Giocondo, and Francesco Colonna carried on the same work, and to his well-known treatises, "*De re Ædificatoria*," "*De Pictura*," and "*De Componenda Statua*," added "*The Commentaries on Vitruvius*," and that strange book entitled "*The Dream of Polyphilus, or Hypnerotomachia*," which is such a curious mixture of truth and fancy.

The effect produced by the construction of the "*Temple of the Malatestas*" was very great, for it was no slight achievement at that date to regulate the laws and determine the tendency of architectural compositions, while it was an even more marked success, at a time when a man of genius like Brunelleschi had shaken off the fetters of ancient usage and struck out

a line of his own, to confirm the value of these principles by erecting a marble temple, all the architectural elements in which, while borrowed from antiquity, were modified and rejuvenated by the modern spirit.

A natural son of Lorenzo Alberti and of Margherita di Messer Piero Benini, Leo Battista expiated from his birth the ardor with which his family had plunged into a struggle against the Albizzi during the bloody contests between the two factions of black and white in the fourteenth century. His father and mother were exiled to Genoa, where he was born in 1404, and it was only in 1428 that, at the special request of Pope Martin V., the interdict which had led to the dispersion of this powerful family throughout Europe was raised. There were several branches of the family, Leo Battista belonging to that of Bernardo di Nerozzo (1388), who married first a Pazzi, and afterwards a Gualterio dei Bardi. The French Dukes Albert de Luynes and Chaulnes are descended from Caroccio di Lapo (1347), through Tommaso, born in 1409. Between the years 1408 and 1417 four of the Alberti were interred at Paris in the Vieux Augustins Church, and before the close of the century more than seventy members of this family had died in exile at Bruges, Viviers, Paris, Montpellier, Avignon, Genoa, Breseia, Mantua, Padua, Venice, Frioul, the Romagna, London, Flanders, and even in Cyprus, to which they were banished by a decree of the Balia.

The original text of the decree, or the "Provisioni," is to be found in Passerini, and the tenor of it shows how high party feeling ran. The first decree (1387) orders that two leaders of the family shall be exiled a hundred miles away from Florence, and debars all the other members of the family from the privilege of holding any magisterial office; in 1393 they are all made to suffer for a conspiracy which had been hatched by one of them; and in 1400 three of their relatives are put to the question in order to extort from them a confession of the latter's guilt, and then executed, the Grand Council deciding that all the Alberti, including those not yet born, shall be deprived of civic rights. In 1412 a reward of two thousand gold florins (£1800) is promised to the person who kills the four heads of the Alberti family at Florence, and half that sum to the slayer of any one Alberti, provided that he is not under eighteen years of age. If the slayer is himself in banishment he is to receive a full pardon, and if not, he is entitled to ask for the pardon of any two friends; while, for the remainder of his life, he is to enjoy the privilege of carrying arms. All the Alberti property was confiscated, and the chains which formed their blazon were removed from the walls of the churches, chapels, and palaces.

Such were the conditions under which Leo Battista was born, far from the land of his ancestors and his father's home. We cannot wonder, therefore, at the



tone of bitter suffering which pervades his letter to Brunelleschi when he speaks of his long exile, and his soul being fortified in the school of adversity. The Albizzi persecuted this family with unwearying hatred until the Medici began to get the upper hand, and it was not until 1428 that justice was done to one of them, this act of tardy clemency being completed in 1434 by Cosimo de' Medici, who reinstated all the Alberti in their property and ancient dignities.

The education of Leo Battista was of course affected by these circumstances, and he was trained in the midst of difficulties and struggles. He was very proficient in all equestrian exercises, and Muratori, in his "*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*," represents him as being a great athlete at the Olympian games. He completed his studies at Bologna, and before he was twenty years old had published a Latin comedy entitled "*Philodoxeos*," which he signed "*Lepidus Comicus*." This device was so successful that Manuccio, a century and a half afterwards (1588), published it at Lucca as being by Plautus, under the title of "*Lepidi Comici veteris Philodoxeos, fabula ex antiquitate eruta*." It should be added, however, that a canon of Bamberg, Albert von Eyb, declared the comedy to be of modern origin, and to have been the work of Carlo Marsuppini. Poggio Bracciolini was the confidant of Alberti in this matter, and many years afterwards he revealed the secret to Lionel of Este. When Leo Battista was allowed

to return to Florence in 1428 he had already proved himself to be a man eager to ascertain and investigate every subject of human interest, of a generous disposition, endowed with the most varied gifts, and a worthy forerunner of Leonardo da Vinci. At first engrossed in the study of the law, he afterwards cultivated the exact sciences, physics, and the art of naval constructions, while with all this he practiced medicine, and it was only after having given proof of his proficiency in each of these branches that he settled himself down to literature. He wrote in Latin, but his Italian poems are still extant, and they give a complete contradiction to those who, during his day, asserted that he wrote in Latin to conceal the imperfections of his style in Italian. He introduced the Latin metre into poetry, and it was considered very venturesome at that time to treat elevated subjects in that language. Alberti would have remained famous even if he had not written anything more, for he had already acquired great celebrity as a physicist and an astronomer. The Alberti bolide (perfected a long time afterwards by Cook), used for measuring the depth of the sea, was his invention, as also were the *camera lucida* and several instruments which facilitated an exact observation of the stars.

It was, however, to architecture, which during the Renaissance necessitated the knowledge and the practice of all the other arts, that he owed his greatest celebrity, though he only took to it thoroughly after

he had gone through the multifold career described above. Deeply imbued with the love of antiquity, and well versed in the Latin and Greek manuscripts, with Vitruvius at his fingers' ends, and an enthusiastic admirer of the monuments discovered in Greece and Italy, he determined to familiarize himself with the remains of the grand imperial epoch. Biondo da Forli received him at Rome and presented him to Pope Nicholas V., and according to Palmieri and Vasari he played a very important part in the execution of the ambitious projects of this pontiff, who did more for the imperial city than any of his predecessors. Up to that time Bernardo Rossellino, the Florentine architect, had been given the supreme control over the works, but he was glad to attach Alberti to him, and henceforward nothing was done in Rome without their being consulted. Alberti was created a prelate, and invested with benefices which made him independent, and in 1447 he received the dignity of canon and the title of prelate of Borgo San Lorenzo and of San Martino at Gangalandi. Pius II. retained him at the Vatican, and made him Secretary of the Apostolic Letters.

It was during this period, with the monuments of antiquity before his eyes, and in the companionship of Biondo da Forli, the author of "*Roma Instaurata*," and the real creator of archæology, that it occurred to him that there was no reason why the classic forms should not be combined with those imposed by mod-

ern necessities. Alberti was thoroughly engrossed in this new architectural departure when Sigismund Malatesta asked him to come to Rimini, and confer with him as to the building of a temple. He accepted the invitation with the assent of the Pope, who was indebted to Malatesta for the way in which he had led the pontifical troops to victory; but, as he could not remain long, he left as *proto maestro*, or overseer, Matteo da Pasti, of Verona, who was a pensioner of Malatesta, and to whom we owe the excellent medallions of Sigismund and Isotta. This shows how varied were the gifts of most great artists during the fifteenth century. There is nothing to show that Alberti returned to Rimini after the inauguration of the Temple in 1450, but he had made himself a very great favorite with Sigismund, who desired that his medallion should be placed opposite to his own above his tomb.

The greatest works of Alberti, those which have insured his celebrity, were executed after his first visit to Rome. To begin with, he built St. Pancras for Cosimo Rucellai, and he then designed the beautiful façade of Santa Maria Novella. In conjunction with Brunelleschi, who had been commissioned to build the Foundling Hospital in the Piazza dell' Annunziata, he decorated the interior of the church of that name, preparing the designs for the tribune, the chapel, and the cupolas. It was during this period that he made his longest stay at Florence, living in

the intimacy of Lorenzo de' Medici, and making one in those celebrated gatherings in the Camaldoli woods with Ficino, Acciaiuoli, and Rinuccini. In addition to Malatesta, Rucellai, and Lorenzo de' Medici; Louis Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua, furnished Alberti with an opportunity of displaying his views in regard to architecture, intrusting to him the erection in that city of a basilica dedicated to St. Andrew, where repose the remains of Andrea Mantegna. Alberti availed himself of it, and St. Andrew's, like the Temple of Rimini, offers one of the earliest instances of the revival of classic architecture.

The princes of the houses of Este, Montefeltro, Gonzaga, Malatesta, and Medici, whose cause his family had espoused with great ardor, were all anxious to attach him to their service, but Nicholas V., Pius II., and Sixtus IV. almost monopolized him, more particularly the first-named pontiff, whose aim it was to change the face of Rome. He had requested him to erect fountains, squares, and oratories, and he was also anxious to roof in the bridge of St. Angelo so as to make a covered way to the Mole of Hadrian. It is easy, therefore, to understand that Florence, many as were the attractions she offered him after so long an absence, failed to retain him, and he settled definitely at Rome, where he died in the spring of 1472, as is proved by the remark of Matteo Palmieri, Apostolic Secretary to Sixtus IV., in his book "*De Temporibus suis*." His ashes, which were tempora-

rily deposited in the church from which he took his ecclesiastical title, were transferred to Florence and placed in the family tomb.

Alberti had obtained an unrivalled position in his own line, his social rank helping in some measure to establish his fame. Moreover, all humanists occupied a higher place in the intellectual hierarchy than the ordinary artist, who was looked upon as a superior kind of mechanic. The whole history of Alberti may be gleaned from the various works which he has left behind him. In his "*Trattato della Famiglia*" he speaks with pride of his ancient lineage, and Machiavelli represents the Alberti as being "more like princes than private individuals." The hatred of the Albizzi seems to have known no abatement, and during the greater part of his life Leo Battista never went abroad without an escort of armed men lent him by Cardinal Alberti.

As an artist his conceptions were grandiose and noble, but in the details of ornamentation his style is rather hard, and in endeavoring to reproduce Attic elegance he occasionally mistakes meagreness for grace. His favorite motive in ornamentation was the palm copied from ancient tablets.

As a writer he was very erudite and capable of great eloquence, notably in the passage upon the tombs in his "*De re Ædificatoria*," while in his private correspondence his predominant characteristic was affable simplicity. Angelo Politian pronounced



his funeral oration, and Cristoforo Landino passed a glowing eulogium upon him in his "Commentary on Dante."

The features of Alberti are preserved to us first in the medallion by Matteo da Pasti, which has on the reverse a winged eye with the motto *Quid tum*, surrounded by a laurel wreath, and by the beautiful plaque in the Dreyfus Collection. A replica of this plaque, which was in the collection of the late M. His de la Salle, is in the Italian Renaissance sculpture-room at the Louvre, but it does not bear the initials of Leo Battista, though the most competent judges have been of opinion that it is his own handiwork.

The church of San Francesco da Rimini contains a third likeness of him, but this is only an enlarged reproduction of Matteo's medallion.

#### MARCILIO FICINO.

(1433-1499.)

Marcilio Ficino was the son of a skilful surgeon attached to the Medici family, who, though a native of Florence, had sent his son to the University of Bologna, because medical studies were much more advanced there than in any other city of the peninsula. Marcilio occasionally came to see his father in the Medici Palace, and having on one occasion been presented to Cosimo the Elder, he had the good fortune to make a favorable impression by his modest



demeanor and precocious erudition. Instead of devoting himself specially to the study of medicine, like his father, Marcilio developed a great fondness for philosophy, and learnt by heart all the principal authors. Cosimo, who was much pleased to find in him a disciple of the philosophy to which he himself was so warmly attached, kept him at Florence, gave him a lodging in the palace, facilitated the continuance of his study, and got his father to consent to his change of profession. In 1456, when only twenty-three years of age, he published "The Platonic Institutions," and Cosimo and Cristoforo Landino, both very competent judges, admired the work, but exhorted the writer not to read Plato in the Latin or the vulgar tongue, but to study Greek profoundly enough to be able to consult the original. The results of this study were the translation of "The Origin of the World," attributed to Mercurius Trismegistus, and the "Choral Hymns." We know from Tiraboschi, and also from the private letters of Cosimo, that Marcilio sang the hymns, accompanying himself on the lyre. Cosimo soon became so attached to his society that he gave him a small property near Careggi, a town house, and a small collection of Greek manuscripts beautifully ornamented with miniatures like those in the Laurentiana.

It was at this period that Cosimo was meditating the formation of the Platonian Academy, referred to in the chapter devoted to the Father of his Country,

and Marcilio, as has been said, was selected by him to organize this assembly, which met beneath the trees of Cosimo's garden at Careggi.

Piero de' Medici, at the death of Cosimo, showed him great favor, causing his manuscripts to be copied, advocating his views with great warmth, and arousing general enthusiasm both for himself and his protégé, by insisting upon his expounding his doctrines from the pulpit. It was from Florence, as is pointed out in the chapter on the Renaissance, that the study of Plato and the observance of his doctrines were spread throughout the whole of Italy, and even of Europe, and the initial credit of this is due to Marcilio Ficino, who was nominated by Lorenzo the Magnificent to a canonry in the cathedral of Florence, and to two rich benefices. This gave a fresh direction to his studies, and he turned his attention to theology, his familiarity with Plato enabling him in his sermons to draw from the writings of the Greek philosopher arguments in favor of the divinity. In this connection his doctrines were not much else than heathen as he drew a comparison between Socrates and Christ, and found an explanation for all the mysteries of the Catholic Faith in the works of Plato. His sermons soon became famous, but they appealed more to the intellect than to the heart, and were not, therefore, much appreciated by the common people.

Marcilio Ficino's private character was without blemish ; he was affable, simple-minded, and gener-

ous, the few intimate friends in whose society he spent most of his time being passionately devoted to him, while the letters of Lorenzo to him breathe a spirit of enthusiastic attachment. He had, however, his moments of aberration, and it may be that towards the close of his life the constant study of the Platonic philosophy had in some measure affected his intellect. Thus, for instance, he was a fervent believer in the supernatural, and according to an anecdote quoted by Tiraboschi and his other biographers, believed in the doctrine of metempsychosis. Arguing one day with his disciple, Mereati, as to the immortality of the soul, it was agreed that whichever of the two died first should come and warn the other, and Mereati afterwards declared that on the day of Ficino's death a phantom horseman stopped at his door and exclaimed, "Michael, Michael, what I told you is true."

The reputation of Marcilio Ficino extended as far as Hungary, and the learned Matthias Corvinus pressed him to come to his Court, while Sixtus IV. wrote him an autograph letter, offering him a pension and a residence at the Vatican; but nothing would induce him to leave Careggi, where, for the matter of that, he was very well off.

The works of Marcilio are very numerous, but though they began to be published separately at Florence in 1489, the first complete edition is dated Venice, 1516, and that was put through the press four times. The nomenclature of all these works





would be very dry, and those who may care for full particulars may be referred to Tiraboschi and other specialist writers.

## BERNARDO PULCI.

(1425-1494.)

Pulei descends from a family of poets, and Bernardo, the eldest, was one of the ornaments of the Court of Lorenzo the Magnificent, endearing himself to the Medici by composing sonnets for them like a poet laureate. His first elegy upon the death of Cosimo the Elder won him the favor of Piero il Gottoso, and at the death of Simonetta, the beautiful mistress of Giuliano, whose portrait has been preserved to us by Sandro Botticelli, he wrote another elegy which would give a high idea of the deceased lady's qualities did we not know how ready Court poets always are to say complimentary things.

Pulei translated into Italian verse Virgil's *Bucolics*, and he has been credited with the poem "Morgante," which, however, was in reality written by his brother Luigi. This work does not give a very favorable idea of the prevailing morality; but it was read aloud at the literary gatherings, which resembled those at Careggi, and at which the pious Lucrezia Tornabuoni, wife of Piero, presided. It is, however, written in very chaste language, is full of interesting descriptions, and, with its vivid and dashing style cannot well fail to please. Bernardo Pulci had a wife,

Antonia, who wrote several dramatic pieces of the passion-play style, and the poet himself, at the close of his life, was curator of the Academy of Pisa, his connection with the history of literature not being traceable subsequent to 1494.

Besides Luigi, there was a younger brother named Luca, who lived at the Court of Lorenzo, and who has celebrated the great tournament of 1468, which is the only guide we have to the character of these splendid entertainments. He has left several other works, including the "Giriffo," a tale of chivalry, and "Il Triade d' Amor," a pastoral poem in four cantos.

Bernardo was the most famous of the three brothers at the time, but Luigi, as the author of "Morgante," has achieved the most enduring fame.

#### DOMENICO BURCHIELLO.

(139.-1448.)

Burchiello's name is often quoted by persons who have never read any of his poems. He was a barber by trade, and was doubtless one of those who helped to found the Barbers' Salon in Italy, a sort of club open to all the world, in which the latest news and gossip are retailed. A foreigner visiting Italy for the first time will be struck by the countless number of hairdressers' shops in which the modern Burchiello is awaiting his customers, and in the evening people meet there and converse, seated upon large sofas which are placed round the room.



Burehiello, a barber and the son of a barber, had his shop, in the first years of the fifteenth century, in the Calimara quarter, near the old market. He was so ready-witted and gay that his name became as synonymous for good-humor and quickness of repartee as that of Figaro did three hundred years later. Courtiers and townspeople repaired to his shop, and in the Medici Gallery may be seen a picture representing the establishment divided into two portions, in one of which customers were shaved, while the other was reserved for the regular frequenters, who chatted, or played, or recited verses when Burehiello's tongue was not going.

He wrote sonnets which passed through eight editions in various countries before the fifteenth century was over, though they are so fantastic and incomprehensible that it is difficult to understand what they mean: for all the learned commentaries of Varchi and Dona, Dandolo has no hesitation in pronouncing these sonnets to be unintelligible to those who do not understand the fishwife's vocabulary. The only thing to commend about them is that they are vivacious, and full of that fire which pleases the common people.

SAVONAROLA.

(1452-1498.)

Fra Girolamo Savonarola, monk of the Dominican order, was born at Ferrara on the 21st of September, 1452, and, though not properly speaking a Floren-

tine, he belongs to the history of that city, so prominent a part did he play in the politics and intellectual movement of his day. With the ardor of a Peter the Hermit and the unabated fanaticism of a tribune of the people, which cost him his life, he sought to weaken the influence of the Medici, and to maintain the Republican form of Government in Florence. He did not scruple to call upon the Pope to suppress abuses, and even endeavored to put a check upon his temporal power, and, like the austere reformer that he was, set his face against the prevailing ideas in regard to art and literature, considering them to be infected with paganism, and denouncing them from the pulpit on this ground. His eloquence, his enthusiasm, and his fire, his sombre genius, his boundless courage, and the matchless audacity and coolness which denoted an immovable conviction, made him one of the most remarkable figures in the history of Florence during the close of the fifteenth century, and the flames which consumed his body have formed a halo of martyrdom around his head, though there were those who professed to regard him as an impostor.

His father's name was Niccolò, and his mother was Elena Buonaccorsi, the family being of Mantuan origin. Austere and serious as a child, there seemed to be something in him which foretold a stormy career. His earliest studies were theology and philosophy, and his favorite author was St. Thomas Aquinas, though he wrote a few poems in his youth which are

still extant. He had his first vision at the age of two-and-twenty, when it seemed to him, one night, that a cold rain had penetrated to his very bones, and annihilated all the fermentation of youth, and allayed for ever the longings of the flesh. After this vision he went off to Bologna, without communicating his intentions to any one, and assumed the robe of a Dominican. He soon manifested his great gifts, and his superiors gave him the chairs of dialectics and metaphysics. He remained for seven years in Bologna, going from thence to Florence, where he at once took up his residence at San Marco, and made his début as a preacher in San Lorenzo during Lent. He failed, however, to make any impression upon the Florentines, who were formed in the school of Boetaccio and Marsuppini, and finding this to be the case, he resolved to confine himself in future to expounding Holy Writ. Having been sent by his superiors to preach in Lombardy, he returned to Florence at the request of Lorenzo the Magnificent, to whom Pico della Mirandola had described him as being a man of great promise, well versed in Holy Writ, and deserving of the highest interest.

In 1490 he commenced, in the church of San Marco, a series of lectures upon the Apocalypse, and basing his arguments upon the obscurity of this book, he declared that it foretold the immediate ruin of Florence, unless she reformed her ways. He called upon the Church to regenerate herself, and upon her

clergy to give up the licentious life which so many of them led, threatening them with the Divine vengeance in the sentence engraved on the medallion: "*Gladius Domini super Terram, Ceto et Velociter.*" His preaching created a feeling of terror throughout Florence, but his threats of chastisement seemed to fascinate the people, and as St. Mark's was too small for the congregations which pressed to hear him, he preached the following year in the Duomo. For eight years he had the whole city at his feet, and when he came down from the pulpit on his way back to the monastery of St. Mark he had to be protected from the enthusiastic demonstrations of the ardent and impressionable crowd.

It is difficult at this distance of time to form an idea of what his eloquence was like, but it apparently was marked rather by energy and natural inspiration than by elevation of ideas and finish. As he went straight to the hearts of the people, there must have been a tinge of vulgarity which touched the instinct of the masses, and a certain tone of tenderness which had its effect upon the strongest, for upon one occasion the whole congregation burst into sobs, beating their breasts and manifesting their contrition in other ways. Savonarola was an extemporary preacher, but one of the congregation took down his sermons, and manuscript copies of them were widely circulated until the art of printing enabled them to be reproduced with a wealth of illustration.

In July, 1491, he became prior of St. Mark's. It was a custom in the convent that on the election of a new prior he should go and do homage to the civil authority. As Lorenzo de' Medici was an intimate friend of Pico della Mirandola, who was the sworn ally of Savonarola, it might be supposed that the latter would have conformed to the general usage; but instead of doing so he denounced the tyranny of Lorenzo, and accused him of undermining the liberties of the people. Lorenzo had on a previous occasion sent him a delegation composed of five or six citizens, begging him not to excite still more a people which had always been the sport of its own passions; but his answer to this was a fresh tirade, in which he announced the early death of the chief of the State. The fulfilment of this, as of some of his other predictions, gave additional force to his fervid declamations and mystic utterances. In the life of Lorenzo the details of Savonarola's visit to him on his death-bed are given in full, and need not, therefore, be repeated here.

With all his fanaticism Savonarola was a true patriot, and on more than one occasion he proved his devotion to Florence. When Charles VIII. was advancing on the city the Dominican monk went forth to meet him, and adjured him so vehemently in the name of God that the king was induced to adopt a more conciliatory policy. The speech which Savonarola made is included in his "*Revelazioni*." It is

true that Charles and his army were only gotten rid of through the fearless bearing of Piero Capponi combined with Savonarola's influence and the payment by the Republic of a large sum of money.

Savonarola was at one time very nearly being successful in his struggle against the Medici, for when Piero, the son of Lorenzo, had been exiled, he submitted to the Signoria the new form of government which, according to his views, would insure the supremacy of the people. It was at his instance that the first popular parliament was convoked in the Palazzo Vecchio, but, as I have shown in a previous chapter, it did not last long.

The political purpose which he was pursuing did not cause him to slacken his crusade against the Papacy. His constant theme was simony, the dissolute conduct of the clergy, the scandalous habits of the prelates, the cardinals, and the Pope himself, and the general looseness of ecclesiastical morals and discipline. The occupant of the Papal throne at that time was the infamous Alexander VI., the father of Cæsar Borgia, of the Duke of Candia, who was murdered by his own brother, and of Lucrezia Borgia; and as he felt these accusations to be true, and dreaded their effect when launched from the second city in Italy, he summoned the Dominican monk to Rome in order to reprimand him for his doctrines. Savonarola was able to excuse himself on the ground of ill-health from coming to Rome, and was as a matter of fact



obliged to renounce preaching and work of all kinds, and remain for some time in seclusion at San Marco.

But his silence did not last long, and when he again ascended the pulpit he spoke with even greater vehemence against the Pope, writing to all the sovereigns of Europe, and asking them to convoke a General Council for the deposition of the Pontiff, as guilty of crimes which he undertook to prove.

Alexander VI. offered him a cardinal's hat on condition that he would change the tenor of his discourses. Savonarola, however, treated the proposal with scorn, and made it the subject of a sermon in order to prove the charges of venality in connection with ecclesiastical offices which he had been preferring against the Court of Rome.

The city, however, was divided into two camps, upon the one side being the adherents of the Medici, who were the natural enemies of Savonarola, and who were styled the *Arrabbiati*, while on the other were his partisans, known as the *Piagnoni*. The most fanatical of the latter were Fra Domenico da Pescia and Fra Silvestro Maruffi, the first named of whom succeeded Savonarola in the pulpit about 1496, and commenced a crusade against all kinds of profane objects, such as books, statuary, drawings, paintings, miniatures, jewelry, dress, musical instruments, and perfumes. The people of Florence were possessed of a frenzy, and condemned to the flames everything which was susceptible of exciting worldly thoughts,



or which was used for the adornment of the person. There was a wild outburst of fanaticism, and, with a blind fury reminding us of the Iconoclasts, priceless works of art were destroyed in that year, when for the first time the tolerance for which Italy had always been conspicuous was forgotten. It is strange to note that in the fifteenth century, under the rule of the Medici, books and works of art should have been consigned to the flames.

In Italy the Renaissance had never been in actual opposition to Christianity, for the revelation of the antique world to modern society did not come into collision with the great tradition of the Christian religion, which had constituted the strength of Italy. It was possible to venerate Plato, and even to keep a lamp burning before his bust as before an altar, without undermining the Catholic faith, as is proved by the many pious foundations of the day, and by the great liberality of the wealthy in employing the most famous artists to build churches and chapels.

A band of children was at this time formed by Fra Domenico, and dressed in white, the emblem of purity, they went round to the various houses and collected the objects which were anathema. This lasted throughout the carnival, and on Shrove Tuesday they were made into a gigantic bonfire on the Piazza della Signoria, Fra Domenico assembling the children in Santa Maria del Fiore, where he celebrated mass, and going with them from thence to San Marco, the boys

carrying red crosses in their hands, and wearing wreaths of olive-branches. In the flames which arose from the Piazza were consumed manuscripts of Boccaccio and Petrarch, priceless works of sculpture and of painting, and specimens of the goldsmith's craft, never so perfect as at Florence in the fifteenth century.

Burlamachi says that in 1498 the enthusiasm was so great that the ceremony had to be repeated, and that the procession of neophytes was headed by Savonarola himself, crucifix in hand. Burlamachi adds that, "Having reached the Piazza, they found the bonfire larger than before, among the articles in the holocaust being antique female busts of great beauty—busts of the beautiful Bencina, Lena Morella, Bina, Maria de Lenzi, by the greatest sculptors. There was a bust of Petrarch, adorned with gold and miniatures, which was worth fifty gold crowns, and a watch was kept over the bonfire to see that nothing was removed. When the procession arrived it drew up in a circle around the pyramid, which was sprinkled with holy water, amid the singing of hymns. Then came the captains of districts, who set fire to the bonfire to the sound of bells, trumpets, and other instruments of music, and amid the joyful exclamations of the people, who chanted the 'Te Deum.'"

About 1497 "The Triumph of the Cross" made its appearance, the greatest of his writings, and in the latter part of the same year Savonarola openly defied the Papal excommunication. A Franciscan

named Francesco da Puglia was at the head of the party which regarded Savonarola and Fra Domenico as heretics, and as the latter had the fanaticism to declare from the pulpit of St. Mark that the flames would have no hold on him or his master, the Franciscan took up the challenge.

A whole host of priests, women and children were so convinced that the fire would not burn Savonarola or his disciple that they were ready to follow them through the flames, when, on the 7th of April, 1498, the weird experiment was tried on the square in front of the Palazzo Vecchio. First came Fra Francesco da Puglia, followed by the monks of his order, without any show or ornaments, and then followed Savonarola himself, and the Dominicans in full ecclesiastical dress, and carrying the Host.

A long discussion arose as to whether the conditions were equal—whether the Dominicans ought not to wear the same plain robe as the Franciscans, and whether the Host which they carried with them might not afford them miraculous protection. While the argument was being carried on heavy rain fell and extinguished the flames; and this incident, which made the people suspect that they had been duped by two impostors, so discredited Savonarola that on the following Sunday the *Arrabbiati*, under the frivolous pretext of a disturbance which had occurred in another part of the city, attacked the convent of St. Mark, took it by assault, and dragged Savonarola and





his two followers—Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro—to prison.

When once Savonarola was arrested there was no lack of accusations against him. He had already been excommunicated, and he was now charged with having preached without having the Divine revelation, and of having attempted to assemble a council for the reform of the Church without the authority of the Pope. The General of the Dominican order himself, Giovacchino Turriano, of Venice, and Monsignor Francesco Ramolino, afterwards Bishop of Sorrento, were commissioned to represent the Pontiff before the tribunal, which was composed of priests and monks. The result of the trial was a foregone conclusion, and Savonarola and his two associates were sentenced to be hanged and burnt on the Piazza della Signoria.

The execution took place on the 23d of May, 1498, which was Ascension Eve, and a curious picture of the sinister ceremonial is still extant. A tribune more than six feet high had been erected on the Piazza, where the Ammanati fountain had not yet been placed, in front of the ducal palace, and it was from there that the eight magistrates witnessed the execution. This tribune was connected with the stake by a sort of raised platform on trestles, and the condemned men were led up to it, and had the insignia of their order stripped from them before being led to the stake.

After being hung they were burnt to ashes, and

the fact that they had not uttered a word of repentance made a great impression upon the multitude. Savonarola was executed last. When he was brought to the ladder he cast a long gaze at the crowd; and it is said that when his body was cast in the flames the heat caused the right hand to move so that it seemed to be raised, as if in the act of benediction.

He was only five-and-forty at the time of his death, and he soon came to be regarded as a martyr, even by the Church; so much so, that when ten years later Raphael was painting the *Stanze* at the Vatican, he included among the doctors in the "Dispute on the Sacrament" the man whom the reigning Pope's predecessor had caused to be burnt as a heretic. At Florence his image was preserved as that of a prophet and a saint, and in most pictures he is represented with the halo of glory around his head. The most trivial articles which had belonged to him were regarded as relics, and his memory is so venerated that at the beginning of the present century, more than three hundred years after his death, people came on the anniversary of his execution to deposit flowers on the spot where the stake had been erected.

THE CHARACTER OF SAVONAROLA. HIS TENDENCIES. HIS INFLUENCE UPON LITERATURE AND ART. THE MEETINGS IN THE MONASTERY OF SAN MARCO.

Such is the true history of Savonarola, and it only remains to consider what were his real tendencies, and what was the end he had in view. He was one



of the most remarkable men of his time, and he has left an indelible impression upon the monastery of San Marco, which, though now deserted, preserves its air of monastic repose, and which is associated with the name of another famous monk, Fra Angelico.

While living in the seclusion of his convent the fame of his sermons brought him many illustrious visitors, and he received them in his humble cell, one of the first being Pico della Mirandola, the friend of the Medici, who entertained a high feeling of admiration for the sturdy monk. Then came Benivieni; Politian, so much attached to the antiquity which Savonarola held in abhorrence; Marco Finiguerra, the engraver; Bandini; the famous Sandro Botticelli; Lorenzo di Credi; and two of the Della Robbia family who had taken holy orders.

The favorite subject with Savonarola was the deleterious influence of paganism, which he ascribed to the study of the ancient authors. His idea was to extend the influence of religion to all human faculties and to all their outcome, and as he saw paganism gradually asserting itself in every branch of literature and art, he commenced an ardent crusade against it. The study of the Bible was his dominant passion, and he asserted that it contained everything that was necessary for the development of humanity. I have said above that in his earlier commentaries upon the Apocalypse he predicted in vague terms the French invasion and the disasters of Italy, and when this

prediction was realized the enthusiasm to hear him knew no bounds, the mountaineers coming down from the Apennines and sleeping under the walls of the city, so as to be sure of getting places to hear him the next day. The cloister of St. Mark being too small, it was in the Duomo, which would have accommodated all the population of Florence, that he thundered forth against the lukewarm (*tiefidi*), and endeavored to inspire them with his own ardent faith. His eloquence was not without its effect, for there was a considerable change made in the habits of the people, and a reaction set in against the simonies and loose discipline of the clergy. Savonarola urged that Tibullus, Ovid, Catullus, and all the philosophy of Aristotle should be proscribed, and he reminded the partisans of classic study of the schisms which had resulted in the disruption of the Empire and the entry of the Turks into Constantinople. His action was not confined to literature, for in politics he had contributed to the convocation of the first Florentine parliament, and in regard to domestic reform his principal tenets were, like those of J. J. Rousseau three hundred years later, the advantages of a natural education, of physical and moral education by the father and the mother, and of mothers nursing their infants themselves.

In regard to art, there can be no doubt that he was most successful in introducing a new order of things. Up to 1480 most of the subjects treated by painters

were taken from antiquity or inspired by it, and we have only to read contemporary works or examine pictures and statues to see what a large place is held by ancient fable and the mythology of Greece and of Rome. Savonarola reproached the Medici with having encouraged this movement and favored Naturalism, which is a word one would hardly expect to find used in the fifteenth century. Henceforward we find Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, Pietro della Francesca, and other painters representing the beautiful women of the day as Madonnas and saints, and this was undoubtedly due in some measure to the precepts of Savonarola. He denounced to the people the orgies of sensualism which were depicted in the frescoes, sculptures, and other decorations of the palaces, paving the way by his seven years of preaching for the holocausts in which so many matchless works of art were devoured.

The personal influence of Savonarola over certain artists has been demonstrated by historians of the time. Sandro Botticelli, for instance, was so affected by the repeated attacks of the Dominican monk that he abandoned painting for a time, and shut himself up in a monastery, though Lorenzo de' Medici afterwards induced him to return to his art. Lorenzo di Credi, orthodox though he was in his conceptions and his works, was as deeply affected as Botticelli, and passed the last years of his life in the convent of Santa Maria Novella. The great Fra Bartolommeo,

who combined the style of the most inspired masters with a profound faith, did not touch a brush for four years after the execution of Savonarola. Cronaca, the chronicler of the street and the studio, who set more store by his fluent pen and his eloquence than by his artistic gifts, could not sleep after he had heard several sermons, and was lost in admiration for the preacher. Giovanni della Corniole, a great cameo worker, spent a long time upon the production of a splendid portrait of Savonarola, which was placed in the Medici collection. Even Michael Angelo, austere and proud as he was, felt in some measure the great reformer's influence, for though he was only a child when Savonarola thundered forth his denunciations of the modern Babylon, they made such an impression upon him that he could repeat extracts from them years afterwards.

A certain school regarded Savonarola as an iconoclast, an accusation of which Villari has endeavored to clear him, as in his biography of the Dominican monk he asserts that the holocausts which I have described were only portraits of courtesans and books with obscene illustrations, and, to prove that he was not an enemy of letters, points out that he asked the Chapter of San Marco for permission to purchase the library of Lorenzo de' Medici, which was eventually known as the *Laurentiana*. Be this as it may, Savonarola, by prohibiting the study of the nude, which is the ever-fresh source of the beautiful in art, and by

maintaining the principle of Christian as opposed to pagan art, brought about a complete revolution, and put an end to the strange combats of Pollaiuolo, to the compositions taken from the Latin and Greek authors, to the strange allegories of Botticelli and Benozzo Gozzoli, and to the beautiful groups of statuary which one might suppose to be extracted from the quarries of Paros, and wrought by the pupils of Praxiteles.

It will readily be understood that this fanaticism, excellent as were the motives which gave rise to it, called forth the hostility of the Court of Rome, whose power it tended to undermine. The sack of San Marco was the first tangible act of hostility on the part of the *Arrabbiati* against the *Piagnoni*, as the followers of Savonarola were called, and that must have been a memorable scene when the Dominicans, succumbing under superior forces, were overwhelmed by their assailants in the church which was red with blood, and marched to their doom singing and praising God. One cannot visit that now peaceful retreat, which the recollection of Savonarola, Fra Domenico, and Fra Angelico renders so famous, without being reminded of all this; and the cell of Savonarola, in which are preserved the portraits of Cosimo the Elder, of Benivieni, and of Savonarola himself, the manuscripts, the chair, the furniture, and the sacerdotal ornaments of the great monk, is assuredly one of the most interesting historical spots in Florence. In it we

have, so to speak, the records of history proved by facts, but for which they might be regarded as mere legends.

From this time forth religious subjects were invariably selected for painting and sculpture, and throughout Italy artists were at work upon portraits of Christ, the Virgin, the angels and prophets, and upon Bible scenes, until such men of genius as Titian and Giorgione discarded this conventional rule, and selected their subjects from the Greek mythology or the domain of pure fancy. Nowhere was the influence of Savonarola more profoundly felt than in the fine-arts, as his utterances had made a deeper impression upon artists than upon any other class.

#### THE BENIVIENI.

(1453-1542.)

Jerome Benivieni, though the youngest, was the most celebrated of the family, all the members of which were admitted to the intimacy of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and, as members of his Academy, were the friends and colleagues of Ficino, Politian, and Pico della Mirandola. Domenico, the eldest of the brothers, though gifted with great knowledge as a philosopher, was above all things a theologian, so much so that he was surnamed "Il Scotino," or the little Scot, after the gifted Michael Scotus of Great Britain. Professor of Dialectics in the University of Pisa, and afterwards Director of the hospital of Pescia, he was ap-





HIERONYMI FERRARIENSIS ADEO  
MISSI PROPHETE EFFIGIES





pointed by Lorenzo a canon of the basilica of San Lorenzo, and he always remained a fast friend of Savonarola.

Antony, the second brother, was both a man of letters and a doctor, as was often the case in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notably with the brothers Ficino. He has left some technical works behind him, including a curious treatise on medicine, and his name disappears at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Jerome, the youngest of the three brothers, was born about 1453, and wrote a good deal of poetry, belonging to the Academy of Plato, and publishing verses on "Platonic Love" in Italian. An intimate friend of all the most gifted men of his time, he was the inseparable companion of Pico della Mirandola, who showed his confidence in Jerome by making him his almoner for the distribution of the moneys which he gave to the poor, and of the dowries for young girls who were reported to be worthy of this favor.

Pico has written a commentary on Jerome Benivieni as a preface to his "Love Sonnets," and he was so attached to him in life that he would not be separated from him in death, and was buried in the same tomb at San Marco.

Like his brother Domenico, he was a firm believer in Savonarola, and besides the defence which he wrote of the monk, he translated his works from Latin into the vulgar tongue.

## ANGELO POLITIAN.

(1454-1494.)

Politian, whose name is synonymous with deep learning, and who exercised a considerable influence over his generation, was born on the 14th of July, 1454, at Monte Pulciano, a small town in Tuscany celebrated for its excellent wine. His proper name, as would appear from a degree of doctor, the certificate of which is still preserved at Florence, was Ambrogini, the name by which he is familiarly known being derived from his place of birth.

Cristoforo Landino taught him Latin, and Andronicus, of Thessalonica, Greek; in philosophy he was the most brilliant of Marcilio Ficino's pupils, and as he was anxious to master the doctrines of Aristotle as opposed to those of Plato, he studied his writings under Argyropulos. His earliest work was a translation of Homer into Latin verse; but this did not bring him into any great notice, and the first success which he obtained was by writing some *Stanze* for the tournament got up by Giuliano de' Medici. It is scarcely credible that he should have written these verses, which were soon on everybody's lips, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, and it has been argued that the tournament was held not in 1468, but in 1473.

The death of Giuliano was a great blow for Politian, who wrote in Latin an account of the Pazzi conspir-

acy ; but Lorenzo intrusted to him the education of his two sons, Pietro and Giovanni, the latter of whom became Pope, under the title of Leo X.

When nine-and-twenty years of age, at a time when Florence was a centre of study for all Italy, Politian was called to the chair of Latin and Greek literature, and his lectures were thronged, for he was as eloquent as he was learned. As Lorenzo had sent him to Rome in charge of his son Pietro, who was received with great pomp by Innocent VIII., that pontiff requested Politian to translate Herodianus into Latin, and recompensed him with a gift of two hundred gold crowns. Politian, however, was above taking this present, for he had a private fortune of his own, and had been given a priory and a canonry in the metropolitan church of Florence, besides which, he lived at the expense of Lorenzo. He had formed a close intimacy with Pico della Mirandola, who had renounced his social position in order to devote his whole time to literature ; and these two friends, together with Giovanni Lascaris and a few others, formed themselves into a select literary group. Lorenzo placed the celebrated *Laurentiana* library at their disposal ; and it was from this period that dates the publication of the *Miscellanæ*, in which ancient literature received so high a meed of praise.

The teaching of Politian acquired so much celebrity that students from all parts of the world came to take lessons from him ; two or three of them after-

wards became professors in the Universities of Oxford and Oporto, and by the influence of John Teixeira, Chancellor of the kingdom of Portugal, he was appointed historiographer to King John II., and instructed to write the annals of Portuguese conquest in the colonies. It was while preparing this great work that he died, before reaching the age of forty.

The most infamous calumnies were propagated as to the cause of his death, and a writer of some weight, Paolo Giovio, has not scrupled to adopt them as true. Other writers have reproduced his statements, but it is more pleasant to believe the assertions of those who attribute his premature death to grief at the death of his patron, Lorenzo, and the disasters which overtook his family. Pietro de' Medici, his pupil, had been driven from Florence, and the fortunes of the Medici were trembling to their base, when the poet took up his lyre to sing the plaintive melody "*Monodia in Laurentium Medicii*," in which he poured out his own grief and extolled the virtues of his lost protector. Bembo has cleared him of the calumnies to which Paolo Giovio gave currency, and Dandolo, who has already been referred to as the author of "*Florence Down to the Fall of the Republic*," has contributed to the same end by the discovery of a document written by the Dominican monk Ubaldino, who was charged by Savonarola to conduct his funeral in the convent of San Marco, where he had so often discoursed. In this document, which is entitled "*Ru-*

bertus Ubaldinus de Galliano Dominicanæ familiæ monachus, de obitu et sepultura domini Angeli Politiani," it is said that Politian died like a good Christian, and there is an allusion to the grief which he felt at the decease of Lorenzo and Pico della Mirandola. The fierce disputes between the writers of that day go far to explain these cruel insinuations, as has already been seen in the case of Filelfo and Poggio. Politian's bitterest enemy was one Giorgio Merula, of Alexandria, a professor at the University of Milan. When the *Miscellaneæ* were published Merula found that they contained several ideas of his own, and opinions contrary to his as well, and he accordingly wrote a strong pamphlet, which, though not printed, was distributed throughout Florence. To this Politian replied with another pamphlet, in which he spoke of his adversary, under the pseudonym of Mabilius, in very cutting terms. The feud, however, was ultimately healed, and Merula became a warm friend of Politian before his death.

The influence of Politian upon his contemporaries was very great, his chief speciality, despite the halo of poesy which the publication of the *Stanze* had cast around him, being his intimate knowledge of the Latin and Greek authors. He wrote very little in the vulgar tongue, and with the exception of the *Stanze*, the only known works by him in Italian are a Canzone, which is transcribed in Crescimbeni's History of Literature, and a beautiful poem called "Orfeo."

He was without a rival in Greek, and wrote commentaries on most of the classic authors, his other works comprising Elegies, Epigrams, Miscellanies, a version of Herodianus, a eulogy of Homer, and twelve letters containing some valuable information about the literary history of the last half of the fifteenth century. He made a careful collation of most of the ancient manuscripts in the *Laurentiana*, and prepared the "Greek Paraphrase" of the "Institutes" of Justinian; the celebrated "Pandects" manuscript, which is preserved at Florence, furnishing him with much valuable information. Although a canon of the Church, he did not concern himself much about theology, and he is regarded as the real founder of the Italian Theatre, as he was the first to write dialogue for his characters. The works of Politian were first published by Aldo in 1498, and the best life of him is the biography published at Bergamo in 1747 by Sarassi, as a preface to his edition of the *Stanze*, though another good biography was published at Leipsic in 1736 by Mencken. Erasmus proclaimed him to be "a miracle of nature," but the miracle was so calumniated by the author of "Florentine Anecdotes," and by Vossius, on the faith of Paolo Giovio, that we have to fall back upon original documents, and upon the letters of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and of other contemporaries, to clear his memory. The evidence of Abbé Méhus, in his "Preface to the Life of Ambrose Camadoli," alone suffices to show that



Politian died a nobler death than his detractors averred. He says, "Messire Angelo Politian, attacked by a violent fever, died after an illness of fourteen days, and, unfortunate even after death, malevolence would have it that he expired in a delirium caused by his passions. It is hard to believe that one so versed in Greek and Latin, in history, in antiquity, in dialectics, and in philosophy, had not more command over himself. It should be added that Pietro de' Medici, his pupil, had opened negotiations with the Pope for making him a cardinal just at the time that he was banished, that the death of Lorenzo was a great blow to him, and that he was involved in the same hostility which led to the expulsion of Pietro."

PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA.

(1463-1494.)

Whenever an illustration of youthful precocity was sought by any writer at the close of the fifteenth century, the name of Pico della Mirandola, the young noble who abandoned his social position to devote himself to study, and who on one occasion offered to carry on a discussion upon every branch of human knowledge, at once occurred to him, and this name has become renowned, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe.

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola was the third son of Giovanni Francesco, signor of Mirandola and Concor-  
dia. His mother was almost as famous as he was,

and one of the greatest artists of the day represents, in a well-known work, young Giovanni in his mother's arms, as if to typify her tender care for an infant who gave so much promise, even from his cradle, of the knowledge which was to make him one of the wonders of his age. When only ten years old he made a speech in public, and read some of his own poetry. When he had mastered with surprising facility the instruction given him at home, he was sent to Bologna, where he studied philosophy and theology. Wealthy and independent, he determined to visit all the greatest universities in Europe, and instead of listening to the lectures of the most eminent professors, he was able to embarrass them by his questions, and argue successfully with them.

Unfortunately for his fame, the study of the Syrian, the Arabian, and the Chaldean languages led him to indulge in vague and speculative views, and in the unprofitable examination of the Cabala. He had formed a library of the Cabala, the catalogue of which, published by Gaffarel, is still extant.

He was not one of those modest scholars who love science for its own sake, and Nature, while lavishing her gifts upon him, had endowed him with a feeling of pride which impelled him to air those gifts before the world. Thus it was that in 1468 Pico della Mirandola, then in the plenitude of his faculties, arrived at the Court of Innocent VIII. with a list of nine hundred propositions, "*De omni re seibili*," which he un-

dertook to sustain in public debate against all the savants who chose to enter the field. As he was very wealthy he further declared his willingness to defray the expenses of all those who would make the journey. The list of propositions has been preserved, and it has been well remarked that the learning of any one who answered them all would not amount to very much.

The immediate result of this challenge was to raise up enemies for him among those whom he attempted to outshine, and thirteen of his propositions were denounced as being tainted with heresy. He, of course, had his answer ready, and his first argument was to prove that these very propositions had been sanctioned by theologians whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable. He turned the laugh against his accusers, who had made the blunder of representing the Cabala as a man who had spoken evil of Jesus Christ. Innocent VIII., however, condemned the propositions, and Pico left Rome for France, where he was held in great esteem. He was again denounced during his absence, and the Pope summoned him to appear before his tribunal; but though he did so, and had no difficulty in clearing himself, the mortification for him was very great.

This was the close of his public career, and having abandoned his titles and property in favor of his nephews, he lived in the intimacy of learned men at the Court of his friend Lorenzo the Magnificent, being

very regular in his attendance at the Academy of Plato, where Marcilio Ficino and Politian bore him company. He died in the prime of youth, at the age of thirty-one, having been preceded to the tomb only two months before by Politian. Charles VIII. entered Florence on the very day of his death, and the French King, who had received him at the Court of Paris, hearing of his serious illness, sent two of his physicians to him, but he had breathed his last before they could arrive. He died in the true faith of a Christian, bequeathing all his fortune to his servitors and to the poor of Florence.

His works comprised a poem upon the creation of the universe, in which he attempts to conciliate the Bible with the doctrines of Plato—a favorite theme in the fifteenth century; a scholastic treatise entitled “*De Ente et Uno*,” eight volumes of “*Letters*,” a commentary upon “*Platonic Love*,” a harangue upon “*The Dignity of Man*,” several pieces of poetry, and twelve books denouncing judicial astrology, the last named being looked upon as the most important of his many compositions. The only work of his in the vulgar tongue was his commentary of his friend Benivieni’s “*Platonic Love*.”

Pico della Mirandola, prodigy of learning as he was, and one of the most popular men of his age, did not as a writer make any great contribution to the sum of human knowledge, and his science was Platonic, and professed with a view to effect.

## MACHIARELLI.

(1469-1527.)

Niccolò Machiavelli was born at Florence in May, 1469, his father, who was a judge, being called Bernardo, while the name of his mother was Bartolomea di Stefano Nelli. It was believed at one time that he was descended from a noble family which had given several marquises to Tuscany; but the truth is that his father, though well born and moderately rich, was not of noble descent. He was a native of Val di Pisa, and his property was at Montespertoli. These facts concerning the great political writer who has acquired a proverbial reputation for astuteness and perfidy are derived from Passerini and Pietro Fanfani.

It may be assumed that Machiavelli made a profound study of Latin and the Italian classics. At the age of five-and-twenty he was employed in the Government office which conducted the business relating to embassies and war, while four years later—in 1498—a decree of the Grand Council raised him to the rank of Second Chancellor. He had scarcely entered upon these new duties than he was promoted to be Secretary to the Council of Ten, and so able was his conduct of affairs that he held the post for fifteen years, though the ordinary tenure was only for a month.

In 1499 he undertook the first of a series of embassies, and in the hands of the Government of Flor-

ence appeared to be a docile and supple instrument. But while Machiavelli seemed to be only expressing the views of those by whom he was commissioned, he had been skilful enough to dictate the resolutions of those who sent him. The first important mission which he undertook was to King Louis XII. of France in 1500. In the following year he returned to fill his duties as Second Chancellor, though not for long at a time, as we find him first at Pistoia, then at Pisa, then at Siena, and then at Arezzo. In 1502 he accompanied Cæsar Borgia to Imola, and then throughout the Romagna and Umbria, when that Prince was engaged in reducing the rebel lords, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliveretto da Fermo, Pagolo, and the Duke de Gravina Orsini. It was during these different embassies, more military than diplomatic, that Machiavelli, constantly engaged in sieges, assaults, fortifications, and battles, directed his brilliant faculties to the study of war and the practical side of a military profession.

But a higher mission awaited him, and the soldier was soon merged in the diplomatist. At the death of Alexander VI., Florence took a deep interest in the election of a new pope, and was very anxious to impose her candidate upon the Sacred College. Cardinal Francesco Soderini was sent from Volterra to Rome, Machiavelli accompanying him as far as Val di Arno, and then proceeding on his own account to the conclave, in which he played a very important part.

In 1505 he was intrusted with the realization of



an idea which he had long been advocating, and which was destined to bring about a complete revolution in the constitution of Italian States. His plan was to substitute for the mercenary forces, upon the fidelity of which little reliance could be placed, and which, animated by no patriotic sentiments, often turned tail and fled, a national army composed solely of citizens.

In 1503, at a meeting of the Council, he urged the people to form an army, and contributed to the expenses of their equipment, and in 1506 he proposed the creation of a special magistracy, which was to form companies of soldiers, superintend their drilling and instruction, and take care that they were ready to march at immediate notice. This was his greatest work, and he was the moving spirit in the new magistracy, obtaining from the Council of Ten their sanction to the measures which he deemed necessary, and never relaxing in his efforts until he felt that the change had taken firm root. Mercenary armies were suppressed for good, and to Machiavelli is due the credit of substituting for them those national forces which are still the *ultima ratio* of civilized societies. The superiority of infantry over cavalry was another favorite theory of Machiavelli, whose views in regard to warfare have been embodied by Algarotti in a work entitled "The Military Science of the Florentine Secretary," and dedicated to Prince Henry of Prussia.



In 1506, while still busily engaged in his work of military organization, he was obliged to return to Rome and accompany Julius II. to Imola when the latter was attempting to subjugate Bologna. In 1507 he went to supervise the recruiting of foot-soldiers at Val di Tevere, Valdichiana, Chianti, and the valleys of the Elsa and the Cecina, and in the course of the same year he was sent as a delegate to Piombino and Siena.

At the end of 1507 he was sent to meet the Emperor Maximilian, who was about to enter Italy on his way to receive the imperial crown from the Pontiff, and as Florence had to provide a subsidy, Machiavelli was sent to settle the matter. He was six months on this mission, and he found time to write the "*Ritratti delle cose d'Alemagna*," the "*Rapporto delle cose della Magna*," and the "*Discorso sopra l'Imperatore*." There is no need to enumerate all the diplomatic missions upon which he was employed, for rarely has a public man been so constantly occupied, but amidst all this he seemed to be more specially engrossed by military affairs, and may, indeed, be regarded as the War Minister of the Republic, with all the practical knowledge and more than the deliberative ability of a great commander. The long and arduous struggle with Pisa gave him an opportunity of displaying his talents, and it may be said that the measures adopted to capture the city were suggested by him.

These almost permanent duties did not prevent him from rendering still greater services, and the post of Ambassador to the Court of France being vacant, he filled it for a short time in 1510, taking up his residence first at Lyons, and afterwards at Blois and Tours.

The fall of the Gonfaloniere Soderini which took place upon the 30th of August 1512, during his absence, was very prejudicial to him, for after the change of Government which followed he was deprived of his post both as Chancellor and Secretary of the Ten. A decree was even passed ordering him not to leave the place of residence assigned to him, and he was forbidden to attend the Signoria for a twelvemonth. Mixed up in a conspiracy against the Medici in 1513, he was imprisoned in the Bargello, and even put to the question, but Leo X., delighted at his election to the throne of St. Peter, had him set at liberty. There can be no doubt that he was tortured, but he met his punishment with the stoic courage of the men of old, and left behind him a curious sonnet written at the very time.

While his body was still crushed and bruised, he repaired to his humble villa near San Casciano, and there devoted himself to study, leading a peasant's life, playing bowls and backgammon with his neighbors, and showing great affability in his relations with them. His political career seemed to be over, and he worked very hard, writing for the Academy

of the Ruccellai Gardens, the "Principe" (1513), "Discourses on the First Book of Livy" (1516-1519), the "Dialogue upon Language," and the "Seven Books of the Art of War" (1520). The "Life of Castruccio" was written at Lucca about the end of the same year. Under the principedom of the Medici he again returned into favor, but though he was employed upon several diplomatic missions he did not hold any permanent post, and it was under these circumstances that he came to write the "Storie Fiorentine," and the two comedies, *Mandragola* and *Clizia*, which were composed for representation before Leo X. Andrea del Sarto and Aristotile de San Gallo undertook the scenic arrangements, and the audience comprised cardinals and other dignitaries of the Vatican. Francesco Guicciardini, the great historian and the Governor of the Romagna, had these comedies represented at Bologna during the carnival of 1526, and the Venetians also were anxious to witness the performance of them.

Pope Clement VII., in 1526, called him back to activity by intrusting him with the inspection of the fortifications of Florence, the Pontiff foreseeing the possibility of the city having to sustain a siege; and Machiavelli having, with a number of military engineers, taken counsel as to the best measures to be adopted, made his report to the Pope.

The whole of that year was spent by him in negotiations with Guicciardini and the proveditore of

Venice at Cremona. He thus escaped the tumult caused by the conspiracy of the 26th of April, and went upon Guicciardini's behalf to Doria and Genoa in quest of a galley and some reinforcements. From Genoa he went to Leghorn, in the company of the Marchioness of Mantua, and he died at Florence on the 23d of June, 1527.

A letter from his son proves that Machiavelli died a poor man, and no wonder that he did, for his life was full of vicissitudes. While holding office, he spent his salary freely, and when he fell from power he did nothing to increase his fortune. In whatever light he is looked at, he is a genius, though a French writer has written a phrase which the Italians take in very bad part: "The misfortunes of Italy arose solely from the fact that she was capable of producing the Principe." There can be no doubt but that Machiavelli inculcated the odious maxim as to the end justifying the means, but it is equally certain that with him it was dictated by conviction rather than by perversity. He was a great patriot beyond all question, to say nothing of his being an incomparable artist and a gifted writer who has the true historical sense, and who has left political portraits which a Tacitus would not disown.

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI.

(1483-1540.)

Francesco Guicciardini is the classic historian of Florence during the Medici age, and whatever may

be thought of his work, as a well-informed contemporary and a writer of calm and moderate judgment he occupies a prominent place among the Florentine celebrities of his time.

He was born in Florence on March 6, 1483, his parents being Piero and Simona Gianfigliuzzi, and he came of a noble and illustrious family. Marcilio Ficino stood sponsor for him, and after a studious career as a boy, he was sent by his father, at the age of twenty, to Ferrara, in order that he might be kept out of the political quarrels which were constantly occurring in his native town. From the University of Ferrara he went to that of Padua, and after studying law there he returned to Florence, and was appointed in October, 1505, to a professorship. He did not devote his whole time to the law, in which he soon acquired no little celebrity, though he made a brilliant début at the bar and secured plenty of practice. It was upon the 14th of January, 1507, that he was affianced to Maria di Alamanno Salviati. His influence was so great that in the course of this same year the corporation of merchants appointed him consul, but he could not accept the post, as the law required that the holder of it must be thirty years of age. Henceforward, corporations, societies, charities, and religious communities sought his advice, but an unexpected event suddenly caused him to transfer his attention from civil to political affairs.

This occurred during the Holy Alliance between

the Pope, the King of Aragon, England, the Swiss, and the Venetians, Julius II. being very anxious that the Florentines, who were on friendly terms with Louis XII. of France, should join it. The Florentines were much embarrassed what to do, for they did not wish to offend either Louis XII. or the King of Aragon. Eventually it was resolved to send an embassy to King Ferdinand at Burgos, and Guicciardini was selected on the 17th of October, 1511. Upon the 19th of January following he started on his mission, his natural hesitation being overcome by his father, who pointed out to him what a great distinction it was for him to be employed in such a capacity at his age.

The year 1513 was marked by the grave events which followed the fall of the French in Italy after the victory of Ravenna, ten times more costly than a defeat, and on the 2d of September the Medici re-entered Florence in triumph. The Florentine Republic ceased to exist, and the only ambassador whose post was a permanent one was Jacopo Salviati, the resident Minister at the Vatican. Guicciardini asked to be recalled, and it was while waiting permission to demand a farewell audience of the King that he indited his "*Ricordi autobiografici*."

In October, 1513, he left Burgos for Florence, where he arrived on the 5th of January following, and in August of that year he was appointed one of the eight members of the *Balia*. His father had died



in the meanwhile, and the sad news was brought to him at Piacenza. After being for some time under suspicion, and having been refused all part in public affairs by Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, he succeeded in so completely allaying all distrust, that the latter, when starting on his campaign in Lombardy, appointed Guicciardini a member of the Council of Signori who were to act as regents during his two months' absence.

From this time forth he spent his whole life in the service of the Government, and in 1515 he was sent to Cortona out of compliment to Leo X., who stopped there on his way to meet François I., King of France, at Bologna. After this mission was over he was appointed Consistorial Advocate, and then Governor of Modena and Reggio, whence he was sent to Parma, and made Commissary General of the Papal army. During the war between François I. and Charles V., Guicciardini was employed to relieve the Milan exiles and to raise an army corps for the recovery of the duchy. An opportunity was afforded him of showing his abilities as a soldier, for the brother of Marshal Lautrec, who commanded the French, having tried to take Reggio by surprise, he forestalled the attack, and recalling Guido Rangone, who had been sent with his troops to Modena, frustrated the plan.

The two pontiffs who succeeded Leo X. confirmed him in his appointments, and Clement VII. made him President of the Romagna and Lieutenant-General



of the Pontifical army, with authority over the Duke of Urbino himself.

The entrance of the Constable de Bourbon into Rome, and the sack of the city by his troops, regarded as the greatest humiliation since the barbaric invasion, brought Guicciardini into disgrace, for Pope Clement VII., who was a prisoner in the mole of Hadrian, reproached him for not having staved off defeat. He accordingly withdrew into complete seclusion at Finocchieto, and wrote a Dialogue in which he confessed his errors and came to the conclusion that "human prudence is blind, and that we are in God's hands."

His disgrace was not of long duration. The Peace of Barcelona, signed by Clement VII. and Charles V., gave peace to Italy at the expense of Florence. Guicciardini was made Governor of Bologna, and at the Pope's death he took service under the Medici, urging Duke Alexander to crush the democratic element in the city. The dagger of Lorenzino, however, brought that prince's career to an early close, and the younger branch came to power with Cosimo I. Guicciardini, whose ambition grew by what it fed on, attempted to obtain a mastery over the young prince, but the latter, wily, like most of his race, availed himself of Guicciardini's advice to get rid of his enemies, and then cast him aside as a useless and possibly dangerous instrument.

Guicciardini withdrew in humiliation to his villa at

Arcetri, and it was there that he wrote his "History of Italy," dying, a year afterwards at the age of fifty-seven (May 27, 1540).

This history is his greatest work, and though the merits of it have been appraised in very different terms, M. Thiers, in his "History of the Consulate and the Empire," says of him that "he has related the events of his day, nearly all of which came under his own observation, with such a graphic pen, and with such profound judgment, that his history deserves a place among the most enduring monuments of human genius."

There are, however, many imperfections in his works, for if he is superior to Machiavelli as regards profundity of judgment and eloquence, he is inferior to him as regards the arrangement and style of writing. Like Machiavelli, he has left "Discourses on the First Decade of Livy," and he also wrote "Discourses upon the Changes and Reforms of the Governments of Florence," in which he displayed political sagacity of the highest kind.

His *Carteggio*, or collection of correspondence during his mission to Spain, his governorship of Modena, Parma, and Reggio, and his presidency of the Romagna; is remarkable for the profundity of judgment to which it testifies. He was Republican in theory, and to judge by his writings possessed a filial affection for Florence that caused his heart to bleed for her while she was in the hands of the stranger. He

cordially detested the priesthood and its influence, but by a singular anomaly he was the friend of princes and tyrants, and while denouncing the priests as impostors, he was the willing servitor of pontiffs. His political conduct was at total variance with his doctrines, and we must infer that he was consumed by ambition and the love of power. One of his dreams was an Italian federation under the supremacy of Florence, and Machiavelli, with his keen insight into the future, had also anticipated the now realized unity of the Peninsula. Francesco Guicciardini left no children, but he had a brother—Lodovico—who settled at Antwerp, where he married and had a son, also named Lodovico, who wrote the history of the Netherlands.

This Lodovico died in 1589, and his works, written in Italian, have been translated into German, Flemish, and French, among them being a "Description of the Netherlands," and "Commentaries upon the Events of Europe, and of the Netherlands in Particular, from 1529 to 1560." He had not the keen vision of his uncle, but his works are regarded as standard ones by the Dutch.

#### GALILEO.

(1564-1641.)

Vincenzo Galilei and Julia Ammanati of Pistoja in Tuscany, were the parents of Galileo Galilei, who was born at Pisa on the 15th of February, 1564. His introduction to science was through poetry, music,

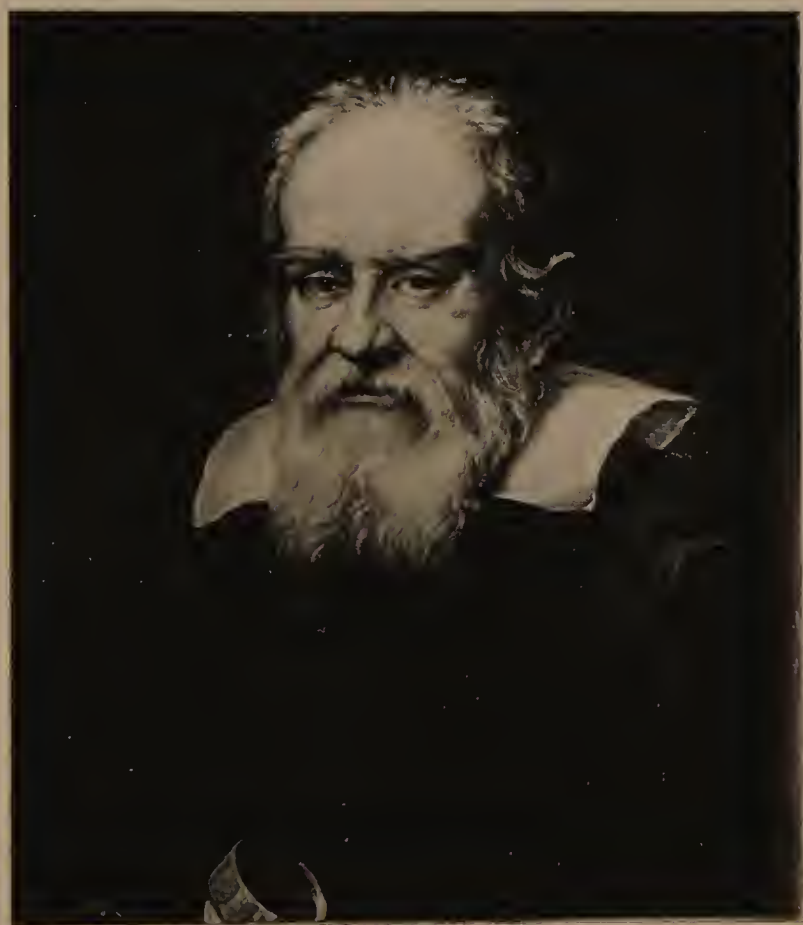
and the plastic arts, but when he had once begun to study science he regarded the fine arts as no more than a relaxation from arduous labor. His father being anxious that he should become a doctor, he matriculated at the University of Pisa in 1581, and attended the medical lectures of Andrea Cesalpino, but having been accidentally led to study mathematics he acquired such proficiency in that science that in 1589 he was appointed professor at Pisa. Private misunderstandings induced him, however, to remove to Padua, where during eighteen years he filled the chair of astronomical sciences. Florence, in the meanwhile, was very anxious to secure his services, and Cosimo II. appointed him his philosopher and mathematician, supplying him with ample means for devoting himself to the speculative inquiries and costly experiments which his researches necessitated.

His astronomical studies involved him in persecution and suffering, for in propagating the system of Copernicus the theologians accused him of teaching doctrines opposed to the Bible, and a Florentine monk hurled against him from the pulpit the passage from the Acts of the Apostles, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?" The noise of all this travelled from Florence to Rome, and the Grand Duke, who was obliged to show deference to the Vatican, advised Galileo to appear before the Inquisition and defend himself against such a false accusation. He arrived at Rome in 1615, but in spite of

the ability with which he argued that his doctrines were orthodox, he made no impression upon the tribunal, which had made up its mind to condemn him. He was, however, allowed to go free upon condition that he did not teach the doctrine of Copernicus, and it was subsequent to this that he wrote his "Dialogues," and submitted them to the censorship of the Vatican, obtaining the official sanction and printing them in 1632.

After an interval of seventeen years, from the time when Cardinal Bellarmino, in the name of the Pontiff, had forbidden him to propagate his doctrines, he was again summoned to appear before the Inquisition. He was not treated as an ordinary prisoner, and the Grand Duke, full of solicitude for his welfare, did all that he could to shield him from the possible consequences of the dreaded summons. He was lodged at first with the procurator-fiscal of the Holy Office, and then he was allowed to reside at the house of the Florentine ambassador, while at last he was permitted to go about the city upon parole. The trial lasted two months, and it ended in a retractation, followed by a sentence of imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Urban VIII., however, commuted the punishment, and allowed him to live first at the Villa Medici, afterwards in the archbishop's palace at Siena, and finally in his own villa at Arcetri, near Florence. In 1637 he became blind, but he continued to give lessons to the many devoted students of science whom

he had gathered around him, seated on the terrace of the villa where he had spent so many nights watching the heavens. Fully resigned to his lot, and venerated as much for his misfortunes as for his genius, he received frequent visits from Cardinal Leopold and the Grand Duke Ferdinand. He died on the 18th of January, 1641, aged seventy-seven, and his body was interred with great pomp in Santa Croce, the monument erected to his memory being close to that of Michael Angelo. He was the inventor of the microscope, the thermometer, the sector, and the small hydrostatic balance. It has been denied that he invented the telescope, but in my previous work, "Venice," I have given the official report of the sitting of the Senate at which he made the experiments for which he received a pension from the Republic, already much indebted to him for his seventeen years' professorship at the University of Padua. The probability is, however, that he merely made a practical application of an invention due to Jacobus Mebius, an inhabitant of Holland, adapting the glasses made by the latter to tubes which enabled him to make astronomical observations. He also invented the pendulum, and in a letter to Lorenzo Redi, still extant, he explained how it might be adapted to clocks. His labors in the domain of astronomical science were almost boundless. He brought into clear relief the system of gravitation, explained the formation of the Milky Way, discovered the stars which accompany







Saturn, and having ascertained the existence of satellites to Jupiter, named them "Medici stars," and made a careful calculation of their periods. He was the first to discover the unevenness of the moon's surface, its diameter, and the great altitude of its mountains. He also pointed out the spots on the sun, and explained the character of them.

In physical science his researches were also very extensive, and he proved that a mote of straw and a piece of lead fall at an equal rate when the air is rarefied. The pneumatic machine was invented to prove this law of nature, and the demonstration was most convincing. He laid down the law as to the acceleration of weighty substances, and reduced to fixed and certain principles their descent along inclined planes. He devoted a great deal of time also to hydrostatics and to hydraulics, though the only treatise which he wrote about them is that comprised in some correspondence concerning the overflow of the river Bisenzio, near Florence.

In the course of a recent debate in the French Chamber of Deputies it was alleged that Galileo had never been persecuted, but Signor Domenico Berti has published an official report of his trial, with the documents preserved in the State archives at Rome.

After his first summons to Rome Galileo, as I said above, wrote the "Dialogue upon the two principal Systems of the World," those of Ptolemy and Copernicus, and this takes the form of a conversation in

which defunct personages, including one Salviati, a Florentine friend of Galileo's, discuss their own doctrines and those of their opponents, the conclusion (evidently dictated by fear of the Inquisition, which had acquitted him with a severe warning) being that it was best not to pronounce definitely as to the system of the world.

Three copies of the "Dialogues," which were printed at Florence, found their way to Rome, and being brought to the notice of Urban VIII., that pontiff manifested great displeasure, and summoned Galileo to appear a second time in Rome; failing which, "a doctor and a commissioner of the Holy Office would repair to Florence at his expense, have him arrested, and brought to Rome in chains." There can be no doubt that Galileo's courage gave way, and on June 22, 1633, he read his recantation in the church of Sta Maria Sopra Minerva. Three out of the ten judges, including the Pope's own nephew, abstained from signing the sentence, which, moreover, never received the Papal ratification.

The following is an authentic translation of the instructions for his trial:—"Galileo must be interrogated as to his intentions, under threat of torture *ac si sustinuerit*, be made to abjure at a plenary sitting of the Holy Office doctrines strongly tainted with heresy, condemned to a term of imprisonment at the pleasure of the Holy Congregation, and enjoined never at any future time, either by word or by writ-

ing, to say anything about the motion of the earth and the fixity of the sun, under pain of fresh punishment." It should be added that, notwithstanding all that has been written by Signor Berti, M. Mézières, and others, we have no certain proof as to whether or not Galileo was put to the torture; and M. Jules Loiseleur has recently argued, with much show of plausibility, that he was not. The words *ac si sustinuerit* may be used in either sense, for while one side applies them to the torture itself ("if he can bear it," argues Signor Berti), the partisans of Urban VIII. interpret them as meaning "if he persists."

The conclusion of the judgment runs: "And as it appeared to us that you had not spoken the whole truth, we, knowing your intention, have deemed it meet to make a rigorous examination of you (*rigorosum examen tui*), in which you have replied properly, leaving out of the question those things which you have confessed and those which have been deduced against you above relative to the said intention."

M. Loiseleur says that Galileo had not the stuff of a martyr in him, and that in all his answers he shows a spirit of ready submission. If so we must suppose that the famous exclamation, "E pur si muove," is only a legend; but whether we take the side of the Church or that of science, it is painful to think that this old man, whose life had been spent in the search after truth, should, when his frame was too weak to

endure physical torture, have undergone such moral torture as to repudiate the doctrines in which he had placed a lifelong faith.

OTTAVIO RINUCCINI.

(1550-1621.)

Ottavio bore a name which had already been made famous by Filippo Alamanno Rinuccini, who was one of the earliest academicians of the Ruccellai Gardens, and he claims the distinction of being one of the earliest composers of the recitative of the modern opera, or lyrie poem. The name opera was not given until later, but in 1580, at the festivals to celebrate the marriage of Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with Princess Christine of Lorraine, he wrote the verses for five musical interludes, the subject being the victory of Apollo over the Python. In order to connect the various musical parts, composers went back to the *melopœa* of the ancients, and the name of "recital" is still given to it in Italy.

He made a further step forward in the "Pastoral of *Daphne*," which was represented in the Corsi Palace before the leading members of Florence society. He next wrote *Eurydice*, which he himself styled a "Tragedia per Musica," and this opera was given with great pomp and splendor at the marriage rejoicings of Henri IV. and Maria de' Medici.

Ottavio owed much to the patronage of this princess, who induced him to come to the French Court;

but his new mode of life was so distasteful to him that he soon returned to Florence, where, in 1608, he wrote *Ariadne at Naxos* for the wedding of Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua, and the Infante Margaret of Savoy.

The form of these poems is perfect, and the verses go very well to music, while there is more passion and life in them than in the somewhat artificial compositions of Quinault.

Besides these lengthy works, Rinuccini composed some very clever Anacreontic odes in the Concetti style, and he was much appreciated in the best society of Florence for his ever-ready wit.

He was collecting his works, with the intention of dedicating them to Louis XIII. of France, at the time of his death, and his son, Piero Francesco, completed the task.

This brings to a close the list of the men who contributed the most to the propagation of the new ideas: for the seventeenth century belongs to the modern era, which cannot be treated of here. Moreover, the supremacy of Florence declined after the sixteenth century; and in the next chapter I shall speak of the art to which that supremacy was due.

## CHAPTER V.

## ETRUSCAN ART.

LONG before giving to the world the spectacle of the splendid development of art and civilization which I have endeavored to describe, Tuscany had been in these respects a very favored land.

More than a thousand years before our era the soil of Tuscany was occupied by the Etruscans, a mysterious people whose origin has never been clearly ascertained by the historian or the archæologist. Whether, as has been variously argued, Greek, Phœnician, German, Iberian, or Celtic, the race which peopled Etruria, and settled between the Tiber and the Arno in the tenth century B.C., showed a special instinct for art, and left upon all the objects of its creation so original a mark that its style is the easiest to identify of all those which the archæologists have exhumed.

Mommsen, Niebuhr, and Ottfried Muller have each given their views, accepted by some and rejected by others; Michelet says that the "genius of history is dumb," and Sir George Cornwall Lewis comes to the somewhat sweeping conclusion that "all the searching investigations of modern savants as to the primi-



tive history of the Pelasgi, the Siculi, the Thyrrhenians, the Aborigines, the Latins, and other national races are as devoid of any solid foundation as the study of judicial astrology, the discovery of the philosopher's stone, or the elixir of life."

Ee this as it may, Etruria was the cradle of Italian art, and a work on the art and civilization of that country which goes back to the earliest times would not be complete without some notice of the first Etruscan monuments. These are believed to date from the close of the tenth century B.C., and the many specimens of them which are to be seen in the different museums have all the conventionality of Egyptian art, a circumstance which may perhaps be accounted for by the trade which Etruria carried on with the East.

Etruscan art, however, was personal, so to speak, while that of Egypt, on the contrary, was immutable, and subject to certain rites, religious prescriptions, mathematical laws, and immovable canons. The Etruscan sought to imitate nature, while the Egyptian covered the human anatomy with an inanimate surface of porphyry or granite which gave no clue to the life beneath. The Etruscan was at infinite pains to reproduce the muscles, the veins, the arrangement of the hair, and the folds of the loose draperies.

There are few large monuments left in Etruria, especially of the first period, though some walls of colossal proportions like those at Fiesole, and lofty

gates like those of Perugia—one of the best-preserved monuments in Italy—may still be seen, belonging to a period in which Greek influence is very visible. The first Etruscan style lasted until the third century of Rome, after which it underwent a modification and became the Tuscan style, contemporary with that of Ægina and Greece, while, five centuries after the foundation of Rome, Greek art had acquired so complete a monopoly that it was to be traced in all Etruscan constructions of the time. One of the most important Etruscan towns, Vcii, succumbed in the year 396 B.C. to Rome, and in 283 B.C. the battle of Vadimo brought about the complete subjugation of the Etruscan nation by Rome. The superposition of these two civilizations may be seen close to Florence, at Fiesole, on the slope of the mountain upon which the Roman amphitheatre is built, for hard by this building, with its classic lines, is the colossal Etruscan wall, which seems strong enough to prop up the mountain, and whose enormous layers, placed one upon another without mortar, with the edges as square as if it had been built yesterday, tell us of this people whose origin has remained an enigma for scholars of every age.

Etruscan art produced vases, mirrors, jewels, statues of great size and beautiful style, and scarce as they now are, great numbers of sarcophagi, discs, arms, etc., and tables engraved with inscriptions; and an astonishing number of grotesques are found

in the excavations, and are exhibited in the various museums of Europe under the names of "Obesi," and "Pingues Etrusci." The Etruscans excelled in bronze work, and there can be no more admirable specimen of it than the "Chimæra" in the Uffizi Gallery, with an inscription upon its foot. The "She-Wolf" in the Capitol at Rome also shows a complete knowledge of the structure of those animals. Perkins, in his work on "Tuscan Sculptors," attributes this proficiency of the Etruscans to their habit of offering sacrifices, and of seeing animals immolated by the augurs.

It seems incredible that we should not have one of those triumphal bronze statues, which were so numerous that after the capture of Volsinii the Romans carried off two thousand. Some of them were of gigantic size, and a fragment shown by M. Eugène Piot in the retrospective exhibition at Paris in 1878 is believed to belong to what we may call the Etrusco-Greek period.

The Vatican Museum is very rich in objects belonging to this period, and though the Uffizi Gallery has not so many, it contains in addition to the "Chimæra," the "Orator" (*Arringatore*), which is the most perfect specimen of its kind. The excavations commenced in the sixteenth century, and carried on with varying ardor ever since, have brought to light riches now dispersed throughout Europe, and the supply is still far from being exhausted. The

towns of Coreto, Chiusi, Toseanella, Volterra, Veii, Coere, Castel d'Asso, Norchia, Vulci, Bomarzo, Fiesole, and Perugia have helped more than any others by the excavations made in them, to make us understand the different phases of this civilization. The first style denotes a tendency to imitate nature which may be regarded as the dawn of art, since, in reproducing what they saw, the Etruscans took only the main lines. Simplifying the shapes, the outlines of figures, the draperies, and the anatomy of men or animals, they gave a really lofty tone to their creations.

The second manner still reveals their want of science, for in their anxiety to express action and motion these primitive artists overdid it, thus hurting the effect. Those writers who have examined with care specimens of Etruscan painting and sculpture ascribe the first style to the influence of Egyptian art, while the second has much in common with the art of the island of Ægina. Long before the time of our modern archæologists and the scholars of the seventeenth century, Strabo, who had travelled in Egypt and Etruria, observed these points of similitude, varied, however, by the special characteristics which confer upon the artists of Etruria their unquestionable originality. The Etruscans excelled, moreover, in giving to the objects which they reproduced their natural color. Admirable proofs of this may be seen in many of the museums.

The Greeks, when in the year 212 B.C. they invaded Italy after the capture of Syracuse, found the people of Etruria readily accessible to their ideas in regard to art, and Greek influence is apparent in the works of the Ægina period. From this resulted a new and more perfect, but less original style, and the national element soon disappeared altogether.

It is from this Etrusco-Greek period that date the masterpieces in the Gregorian Museum, the Vatican, and most of those in the Uffizi, including the bronze "Cestus" in the Kircher Museum.

Skilful in the manipulation of metals, in the casting of bronze armor, in die-sinking, or in the carving of applied figures upon metals or stuffs, Etruscan artists supplied nations more advanced than their own in civilization, with their works, which were highly appreciated even at Athens. There is one point which has never been cleared up—how it was that after becoming the purveyors of nations wealthy enough to indulge in all the refinements of luxury, the Etruscan artists, instead of applying their talents to the production of every kind of plastic work, such as armor, marbles, elegant furniture and jewellery, multiplied by some industrial method innumerable specimens of the same object or the same jewel, creating a specialist for each of these departments. Thus was first brought into existence what we now call "art applied to industry," resulting in the production of objects less perfect in taste, but neverthe-

less imbued with that delicacy of conception common to all the works of art in those days. The foreign influences which are to be traced in Etruscan art are not mere vague resemblances of shape or aspect, for five centuries before Christ, and two hundred and five years after the foundation of Rome, the Etruscans coined gold and silver money after the model of the coins current in Attica and Asia Minor, while a century before, when in constant communication with the inhabitants of Cumæ, the Samians, and the Rhodians of Campania, the strange spectacle is to be witnessed (as may be easily seen from an examination of their objects of art) of a whole nation, devoid of any heroic traditions of its own, borrowing those of other peoples, and representing them in her pictures and sculptures. This adoption of foreign myths caused great embarrassment during long centuries to the students of Etruscan lore, who did not, while the science of archæology was still in its infancy, know what to make of finding an episode in the War of the Seven Chiefs, or in the Fall of Troy, in the work of an Etruscan artist.

What gives art so important a place in the history of civilization, and causes it to have such a hold upon the popular imagination, is, that it is almost inseparable from history. If Herodotus, writing a century before the foundation of Rome, is to be believed, the Greeks knew nothing of Italy, but soon afterwards Sicily was colonized by Greeks, Naxos being the first



Greek settlement in the island. The influence of Greece gradually extended, but Etruria retained her special characteristics until she became fused in the Roman Empire. Then a fresh civilization engrafted itself upon the older one, as we have seen in the case of Fiesole, Perugia, and other towns.

While Rome had to fight for her own independence and existence, art was confined to the turning of the potter's wheel, or to making a basket out of the osiers by the riverside. As Cicero says, "Art was left to the strangers, in order that their bondage might sit lighter upon them." The Temple of the Gods was not yet built; but as the instinct of man impelled him to offer sacrifice to the tutelary divinities, he sought out a spot devoted to prayer to which he might repair only for devotional purposes. The Etruscans taught those who were about to become their masters and eliminate their nationality altogether, how to build the *cella* of a temple, and to replace their rustic dwellings, roofed with green boughs, by those water-tight houses which ultimately became the palace and the villa. The Etruscan artist taught his conqueror, who had no idea of what architecture meant, the graces of the full arch, and the expression "Tuscan architecture" became a familiar one in Rome, prevailing there until the Greek colonists of Sicily introduced their purely Greek decoration in the Temple of Ceres (496 B.C.).

I do not propose to trace the development of the



Roman civilization, which followed that of Etruria, modified, it is true, by the Greek influence, but suddenly cut short by the conquest. I merely wished to indicate the origins of Tuscan art, leaving others to decide whether there is any secret analogy between this art, which passed away in the year 280 B.C., and that which came into existence at Florence fifteen centuries later. Rivers between their sources and their mouths often run underground and escape from our notice, but we know where to look for their origins. In the same way we may perhaps discover in the Florentine genius of Donatello a hidden analogy with Etruscan art, refined by a new civilization. It is certain, in any event, that Greek art left an indelible impress upon Tuscany, and after the terrible Barbarian invasion in the first centuries of Christianity, and after the darkness of the Middle Ages, it was once more Greek influence which brought about that Renaissance which had its centre and highest personification in Florence.

When Etruria was conquered, Etruscan art, already modified by the introduction of Greek art, lost its individuality, and it was not until more than ten centuries had elapsed that the various arts for which Italy was famous were again to be seen in their native places, brought to life by the men who were the forerunners of the Renaissance. In order to trace these different artists, to observe the course of events, and to understand how those ancient times are connected with our





modern age athwart the first centuries of the Christian era and those of the Middle Ages, down to about 1200, we must go from Tuscany to Rome, in turn the political centre of the Republic, the residence of the emperors, and the seat of the Papal power. A brief summary of the principal personages will make the transition clear, and show the affiliations of the great artists who brought about the Renaissance.

Many reasons militated against the creation of a national school at Rome, for the national genius of the Romans did not impel them to the cultivation of art, and, caring more for war, politics, and legislation, they even passed laws forbidding the representation of the human figure. For a period of a hundred and fifty years religion was altogether spiritual, but King Numa, who had legislated in this matter, accorded his protection to the foreign colony of Greek and Etruscan artists; and corporations of goldsmiths, and of workers in bronze, terra-cotta, etc., were formed. The elder Tarquin, wishing to erect a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, infringed the laws of Numa, and intrusted the execution of the statue to Vulcanius, an artist of Veii. Then followed five centuries of stagnation, in the course of which it would be difficult to mention the name of a single Roman sculptor as gifted as Mamurius Vetturius, whom Numa employed to make the eleven copies of the "Ancyle," or sacred shield, which fell from heaven during the pestilence.\*

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\* See note on the lily as the emblem of Florence, p. 12.

It was the Roman conquests which favored the development of the arts of statuary and painting, the vanquished imposing their tastes upon the victors. The great Roman commanders, Marcellus, Quintus Fabius, Scipio Africanus, Titus Flaminius, Lucius Paulus, and Mummius, brought back to Rome the trophies taken in Sicily, Macedonia, and Campania, and when Corinth fell into the hands of the Romans they secured art treasures which served as models for their own artists.

The love of art gradually became more general, and each citizen was anxious to have in his house likenesses of himself, of his ancestors, and of his gods, and as the native painters and sculptors were neither numerous enough nor clever enough, artists from Greece found ample employment. In course of time wealthy amateurs gave an additional stimulus to art by their liberal purchases of pictures, statues, and stone engravings; and as the demand creates the supply, there also came into existence plenty of clever forgers who imitated the names of successful artists on the pedestal of a statue or in the corner of a fresco.

This was the epoch of Terentius Varro; of the refined Lucullus; of Verres, whom Cicero denounced in such scathing terms; of Agrippa, who in the course of one year provided Rome with a hundred fountains surrounded by statues; and of Æmilius Scaurus, who constructed a theatre for the celebration of public

games which was ornamented with three thousand marble statues. Julius Cæsar was very fond of bronzes, marbles, and stone carvings; Mecænas has lent his name to the patrons of art in all ages and in all countries; Pompey was an indefatigable collector of stone carvings; and the taste for these things became general throughout Italy.

The Rome of the Cæsars did much for art, and the age of Augustus rivals that of Pericles. The monuments of that period, many of which still survive, bear the double impress of grandeur and elegance, and testify to the genius of their creators. There is a vast difference, however, between the Greeks and the Romans, for while the former represent the supreme type of beauty and give a stamp of distinction to all they touch, the latter, though their works are massive and imposing, lack grace in the details. When the heaviness which is characteristic of their style disappears, we may be sure that a Greek has had a hand in the work.

The whole of this period was a brilliant one, and traces of it are still visible not only in Rome itself, but throughout Italy, and even along the coast of the Adriatic and the banks of the Danube. Roman art, coming into existence with the first of the emperors, died with the last of them, while each successive ruler left upon it the impress of his own personal tastes. Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero blended Greek and Roman art by the importation of the great works of Olympia



and the five hundred statues taken from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi ; and Titus employed Greek artists for the bas-reliefs of his triumphal arch.

The column of Trajan, erected to commemorate his victory over the Daci, affords an irrefutable proof of the genius of Roman artists, for the style of this monument is clear, concise, and free from any nebulous allegories. If this Roman school had lasted there can be no doubt that the genius of the people would have developed distinct national characteristics devoid of all foreign influences, which would have been transmitted down to our own day with no other changes save those brought about by historical circumstances ; but a nation which rules the world must inevitably be affected in some way by the peoples whom it has subjugated, and the genius of Rome bears the constant impress of the influence of the East.

The Emperor Hadrian, who was a passionate admirer of Greece and Egypt, and who brought to Rome a great number of Greek artists, prided himself upon being at once architect, sculptor, and painter, and was very jealous of all rivals. He was succeeded by Antoninus, who cared but little for art, and then came Marcus Aurelius, of whom there still exists an equestrian statue which is a very good specimen of the Roman school, though it was executed by an artist of Greek nationality.

Roman art, which had reached its zenith under



Trajan, began to decline under Commodus, and it is interesting to follow this decadence in the column erected by the latter to Marcus Aurelius,—which is a rude imitation of the Trajan Column,—in the arch of Septimius Severus, and in that of Constantine, the sculptures of which date from the time of Trajan. Constantine consummated the ruin of Roman art, and when he transferred the capital of the Empire to Byzantium he took with him all the greatest artists of the day, their departure, as Winckelman observes, leaving what had until then been the capital of the world a very desert.

## CHAPTER VI.

## CHRISTIAN ART.

WITH the development of the new truths which followed the birth of Christ, Christian art came into being, but from a natural and even superstitious aversion for heathen mythology, it avoided anything which symbolized those myths, and this abhorrence of the productions of ancient art led to the destruction of an immense number of priceless works. The statues of the gods were broken in pieces; the images, the bas-reliefs, the temples, the friezes, and the marble tablets, with their historical inscriptions, were destroyed; and the worshippers of the new God were eager to sweep away all vestiges of those deities whom their ancestors had adored.

After the birth of Christ the arts of painting and sculpture stood still, and at the beginning of the fourth century were no more advanced than they had been twelve hundred years before. Palm-branches, hearts, triangles, fishes, and monograms were engraved upon the tombs of the catacombs, and the efforts to represent the Divine form in painting were ludicrously primitive. Not until an emperor had been converted to Christianity was any improvement

noticeable, and when a Christian died at Rome he was frequently buried in a sarcophagus which had been made hundreds of years before.

The sarcophagus, in fact, was the connecting-link between ancient and modern art, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century we find a Medici taking an ancient sarcophagus for the interment of one of his relatives, and having the family arms carved upon it. For a long time the ecclesiastical ordinances prevented the development of sculpture and painting, and up to the sixth century a very strict supervision was exercised over the choice of subjects.

In the sixth century, when the recollection of the idols had grown faint, the fathers of the Church permitted three of the mysteries of the Passion to be represented, while eighty years later permission was given to illustrate all the others.

The history of art during the six centuries between the fifth and the eleventh may be read upon the religious monuments. The great crusade preached by the Emperor Leo of Isaura and Constantine Copronymos against the worship of images (Iconology, 726–754) led to a mighty immigration of artists into the West, where, however, Byzantine art was already firmly established, and where its influences were not thrown off until the end of the thirteenth century. This period is termed the Italian-Byzantine, or Romanesque. In the meanwhile all Europe was passing through the terrors of the year 1000, when,

according to predictions universally believed, the world was to come to an end. All art, and even business, was suspended, but when the time passed, and the prophecy was proved to be groundless, the people, in their gratitude to heaven, erected churches in all directions, thus giving a fresh impulse to sculpture and painting.

In future there was no line of separation between the architect and the sculptor, and for two hundred years there is no record of any name among the hosts of artists who worked at the porches, the pillars, the naves, and arches of the great cathedrals. The sculptor was regarded as a mere stone-cutter.

*fact*  
The distinctive mark of this period was the carving of diabolic and grotesque figures, in which were blended an expression of faith and simplicity recalling the primitive age of art. Even at this comparatively late period the artists who executed these great works evidently carried out fundamental laws laid down by a higher authority.

Pisa affords a boundless field of study as to the transition from pagan to Christian art. Beneath the spacious porticos of its Campo Santo we see sarcophagi dating from the period when Pisa was one of the most important colonies of Imperial Rome, while there are others which have been brought there from the East, from Sicily, and from Calabria, and which date from the Middle Ages. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the people of Pisa, while building

the Duomo and Leaning Tower, which attract so many visitors to their city, used for the decoration of the exterior these sarcophagi, the sculptures of which, much as they admired them, they were unable to copy. The highest honor they could pay any great personage at his death was to bury him in one of them, and the Countess Beatrice mother of the famous Countess Matilda, and Pope Gregory VIII., who died at Pisa in 1187, are interred in two of these ancient tombs. Charlemagne himself is buried in a Roman sarcophagus representing the interment of Proserpine, and St. Andreo rests in that which formerly contained the body of Tiberius Julius Valerianus, whose ashes were scattered to the winds by the Barbarians.

The sarcophagus, therefore, may be said to connect the past with the present—to have brought about the regeneration of sculpture ; and when Niccolò Pisano's attention was struck by the subjects which ornamented them, and when he compared the movement, the life, and the anatomical science of the ancient sculptors with the qualities of the stone-cutters employed in the construction of the Duomo, he made a determined and successful effort to shake off the trammels of Byzantine stiffness and the narrow principles of the early Christian period, thereby emancipating Italian art, and founding that school which was destined to regenerate the whole artistic world.

Pisano, who played as prominent a part in sculpture as Giotto and Dante afterwards did in painting

and literature, was a Tuscan, so that the art which had its origin in Etruria was born again in a city of the Pelasgi, within a few miles of Florence and ancient Fiesole.

## CHAPTER VII.

## ARCHITECTURE.

It is difficult to separate the study of the development of art among a people, from their political and social history, for in attempting to do so one would fail to grasp the significance of the successive evolutions, as may be clearly seen by simply comparing the historical facts and social events with the outward form of some monument, which is the expression of a particular society or period.

Having thus given a rapid glance at the transformations of art in Etruria, so as to see what were the antecedents of Tuscany, we have now reached the dawn of Gothic art (improperly so called), remarkable for the unanimity with which all the workers are obedient to the dictates of a master spirit who himself remains anonymous for us, inspired by the one thought of glorifying Him in whose honor the temple is built.

We are upon the eve of the desperate struggle which rent Italy for nearly two centuries; upon the one hand the Pope, and upon the other the Emperor, each regarding the Peninsula as his domain, and each representing an opposite principle. During this



continuous conflict civil and military architecture came into existence, their respective forms revealing in a striking manner the troublous circumstances out of which they were evolved.

The most ancient monuments of Florence—those which are characteristic of the thirteenth century, and retain a certain unity, despite the modifications which time has effected—are the Baptistery of San Giovanni, the churches of Santa Croce and Santa Maria del Fiore, the Bargello, and the Palazzo Vecchio.

Though Tuscan gave the signal for the movement which brought about the regeneration of art, the first important work was carried out, not at Florence itself, but at Pisa, where the Duomo, erected by Buschetto, though composed in part from antique fragments of the most various kinds, none the less revealed, in its conception and shape, new tendencies and aspirations.

It is worthy of remark that Italy at no time became wholly subservient to the taste for Gothic architecture. With the examples and recollections of ancient art before her eyes, she adhered to the rules which the architects of an earlier age had laid down, and looked upon the Gothic system as one of parasitic ornamentation which had been grafted on to the main body of her own architecture.

It has been remarked with truth that the cathedral of Milan and the upper church of St. Francis of Assisi—





the only strictly Gothic churches in Italy—were built by Germans. Neither those of Siena, Arezzo, and Orvieto, nor any of the Florentine churches can, near as they may come to it, be spoken of as Gothic, so many are the differences in design and shape. In the order of civil architecture the granting of the municipal franchise and the communal power brought about a new style, of which Florence possesses one of the most remarkable specimens.

But before considering this point, some reference must be made to

#### THE BASILICA OF SAN MINIATO.

The basilica of San Miniato, one of the most venerable monuments in Florence, embedded in the fortress built by San Marino, is of great architectural interest, besides being an ornament to the city of Florence, of which a splendid view may be had from the heights of Miniato al Monte, the ancient “King’s Mountain,” which legend says derived its name from an Armenian prince.

There was formerly an oratory dedicated to St. Peter there, built, as is supposed, in the third century of our era, and this oratory having fallen into ruins in the year 1013, the Emperor Henry, Queen Cunégonde—who was afterwards canonized—and Hildebrand, Bishop of Florence, built the basilica in its present shape. While the building was in progress the body of San Miniato was found at the spot where

the Porta Santa, to the left of the façade, now stands, and was interred beneath the high altar.

In Italy, as in other countries, there is always some annex for the dignitaries and staff of a basilica, who form a small colony gathered around the mother establishment. In 1295 Andrea de Mozzi, Bishop of Florence, built as his episcopal residence the large crenellated palace which adjoins the church on the southern side. Ricasoli, the successor of Mozzi in the see, added a vast dormitory, the campanile of which falling down in 1499, was rebuilt in 1518 by Baccio d'Agnola. It was on this side that Michael Angelo, transformed for the nonce into a military engineer, constructed his bastion for the defence of the city, and placed those batteries which finally averted the enemy's fire and saved the tower.

The noble outlines of this basilica recall those of the primitive churches, from which, however, it differs very much in respect to the style of its ornamentation. The system of incrusting the façades of buildings with marbles of different colors, which, next to the massive walls of the Palazzo Vecchio, and the solid substructures of the Strozzi and Riccardi Palaces, is the most salient feature of the Florentine school, had its origin in the necessity of using in building and ornament the materials which lay ready to hand. The neighborhood of Florence is rich in quarries of different colored marbles, so that the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore, the proud cam-

panile of Giotto, the Baptistery, Santa Maria Novella, and the façades of the other principal buildings in Florence naturally contain incrustations of variously colored marbles, arranged according to the fancy of each architect. Additions were made to San Miniato in each succeeding century, a sculptor adding a group of statuary and a painter designing some brilliant cartoon; but as all of them were men of genius, the homogeneousness of the great basilica was not impaired.

The interior, in every respect worthy of the exterior, is an admirable type of the ancient Latin basilica with its nave and aisles and three great arches spanning the nave and choir. The altar and chapel of the crucifix are very well placed for decorative effect between two grand marble staircases leading up to the tribune and choir. This picturesque chapel was built by Michelozzo Michelozzi for Piero de' Medici, who deposited in it a crucifix supposed to be endowed with miraculous power, which is now in the church of Santa Trinita. The most striking feature is the crypt reached by a short flight of stairs, the vaulted roof being borne up by thirty-six marble columns. In the centre of this crypt, now used as a place of burial, is an altar beneath which repose the remains of San Miniato. Reascending the staircase, the attention is caught by the singular arrangement of the bays which light this part of the edifice. The architect, in order to heighten the solemn aspect

of this spot, employed for the windows a transparent marble which filters the sun's rays and gives them a golden tinge. The walls of the choir are covered with traces of decoration of a very ancient period, executed, no doubt, by Greeks who were contemporaries of Turrita and Taffi. The beautiful sacristy is of the fourteenth century, and it was constructed by Nerozzo, of the Alberti family, the pictures which it contains representing episodes in the life of St. Francis, being attributed to Spinello Aretino.

The fifteenth century did much for San Miniato, as it was then that Piero de' Medici erected the chapel of the crucifix, and that Bishop Alvaro dedicated the chapel where are deposited the remains of Jacopo da Portogallo, a cardinal who died in Florence at the early age of nine-and-twenty. The tomb, like the chapel itself, is the work of Bernardo Gamberelli, surnamed Rossellino (see chapter on Sculpture), who arranged with Luca della Robbia for the ornamentation, and the effect produced by the combination of his marble incrustations with the terra-cottas of the latter is very pleasing. The tomb is the main feature in this chapel, and it may be regarded as only inferior to the two splendid mausoleums of Santa Croce, the heavy looped curtains which fall from the top of the arch on either side of a roundel being the sole defect.

The church of San Miniato is not only remarkable for its architectural beauty, but it lends an additional



charm to Florence, the view of it from the banks of the Arno at the extremity of the Cascine being very fine. The contrast between the wooded scenery of the park and the mountain covered with ancient buildings is most striking, and from afar the traveller approaching Florence beholds above the battlements of the episcopal palace the declivities of Monte Miniato sloping gently down towards the town. A wide piazza with terraces, containing among other statues a bronze copy of Michael Angelo's David, is reached by the beautiful Viale dei Colli; and farther on, half hidden in the verdure, is the quiet little church of the "Reformed Franciscans" of San Salvador al Monte, which Michael Angelo called the "Bella Villanella."

Florence is paying dearly now for the days of triumph which lasted so many centuries; but the aspect of the city, with its domes, its towers, its overshadowing mountains, its rushing river, its Cascine, and its innumerable statues, remains as impressive as ever. A debt of gratitude is due to those who, in attempting to embellish her when she became the capital of New Italy, adhered as closely as possible to the principles of art laid down by the Florentines of the Renaissance, endeavoring, with true artistic sense, to establish a harmony between the natural aspect of Florence and the outlines of its monuments.

## THE ARCHITECT ARNOLFO DI CAMBIO.

(1240-1310.)

Both architect and sculptor, Arnolfo di Cambio, better known in the history of art as Arnolfo di Lapo (because it was for a long time supposed that he was the son of one Lapo), is perhaps the Florentine artist whose work was in its original form the most important, though the many modifications made by succeeding generations have somewhat altered its characteristics. Asceending the eminence upon which San Miniato stands, the various monuments erected by this forerunner of Tuscan architecture are all disclosed to the gaze—Santa Maria del Fiore, the Palazzo Vecchio, Santa Croce, Or San Michele, and the very walls which formed the ramparts of the city in the thirteenth century. Greater artists followed in his track, and made alterations in accordance with the ideas of their own time, but many of them adopted his plans and carried them out more or less in their entirety. Arnolfo was born in 1240\* at Colle di Valdelsa, and he began his studies in the studio of Niccolò Pisano, the father of Tuscan sculpture, where he had as a fellow-student John of Pisa.

It was not until 1274, when he was thirty-four years of age, that he had an opportunity of showing what he could do on his own account. He had spent

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\* With regard to dates, I have been guided by the most recent publications, which differ in many instances from those of Vasari, Cicognara, and other art historians.

some time at the Court of Charles of Anjou at Naples, and when the magistrates of Perugia, who had commissioned Niccolò Pisano to erect the beautiful fountain which stands on the square of that city, were anxious to procure him an assistant, it was to that prince that they applied for the services of Arnolfo. The correspondence which passed is still extant, and Adamo Rossi, the learned librarian, has recently discovered documents which prove that he received a sum of ten sols a day for his services, though his name does not appear in conjunction with those of Niccolò, his son John, and Master Rosso.

From Perugia he went to Orvieto, where he carved the tomb of Cardinal William de Braye, a very important monument in the history of art. It is in the Gothic style, and is held to be one of the best pieces of sculpture of the period. This is the only work which we know for a certainty to be his, though the Gothic tabernacle at St. Paul's *extra muros* bears his name in the inscription, and that of a companion simply called Piero. The tomb of Boniface VIII., in the crypt of St. Peter's, the altar of St. Boniface, and the tomb of Pope Honorius III., formerly at Santa Maria Maggiore, are attributed to him by Vasari, but other writers, whose information is more trustworthy, say that Toriti and one of the Cosmati executed the last-named work—a statement which, from my own observations during a recent visit to Rome, I venture to confirm.

Arnolfo, as he advanced in age, abandoned sculpture for architecture, and the full measure of his genius is to be seen in Santa Croce, the Palazzo Vecchio, and Santa Maria del Fiore.

The Palazzo Vecchio was begun in 1299, by order of the Priors who stood in need of an official residence. It has often been stated that Arnolfo used designs for this building prepared many years before by Lapo; which simply means that he may have gotten the idea for it from the Castle of the Conti di Poppi erected by the latter at Casentino. It has been said, too, that Arnolfo was compelled to place his building upon the left side of the square, so as not to occupy the site upon which the house of the Uberti, destroyed upon the day that they were driven from Florence by the fury of the people, had formerly stood. Whatever truth there may be in these legends, it is beyond all doubt that the architect was instructed to include within the walls of the palace the "Forabosehi," or "Della Vacca" Tower, as it was more familiarly called. This tower, which was then only twenty-nine metres in height, Arnolfo raised to three hundred and thirty feet, widening it above the point at which it shot up from the new building, so as to bring it into proportion with the palace itself.

The various embellishments and changes made by different generations in this monument make it impossible to form an idea as to its appearance in the fourteenth century, when the Signoria held its sittings

there, but the appearance of the façade, apart from the shape of the windows and the removal of the bars, must be much what it was then. There is something fierce and stern about the aspect of this part of the building, in keeping with the spirit of the time. The rugged strength of the lower part of the edifice, and the way in which the few windows near the ground are protected by solid iron bars, like the barbicans of a fort, tell of the stormy times during which it was in turn the refuge of tyrants and of the popular Government which expelled them. In the belfry hung the great bell called "La Vacca," which summoned the corporations to arms, headed by their district captains; the battlements symbolized the idea of defence; and between the brackets of each was the scutcheon of a different city made subject to Florence. The whole of this façade is symbolic, and it forms, so to speak, a preface to the history of the mediæval struggles of Florence.

The Piazza della Signoria itself sums up the annals of this history as well as a page of Machiavelli. Standing in front of the palace we have on our right the Loggia dei Lanzi and the Uffizi, and to the left the splendid Ammanati Fountain, crowned by the genius of John of Bologna; the equestrian statue of Cosimo I.; and the Uguccione Palace, which was for a long time ascribed to Raphael. The Palazzo Vecchio is raised a few steps above the level of the square; the platform before the entrance, added in 1349, was

called the *ringhiera*. It was from here that the Signoria addressed the people, and that, when war had been declared, the commanders and the rude condottieri whose services were purchased by the Italian republics received their investitures. It was from the Ringhiera, too, that the important decisions arrived at in the name of the people of Florence were proclaimed. The northern angle is still marked by the famous "Marzocco," or lion, sculptured by Donatello, with the *fleur-de-lis* scutcheon between his paws.\* The colossal group of Baccio Bandinelli stands at the other extremity. This tribune was destroyed in 1812.

The "David" of Michael Angelo stood on the left of the entrance, but it was placed under cover by the present Government, and a copy erected in the Piazza approached by the Viale dei Colli, one of the new promenades laid out at the time that Florence was the capital of Italy. The door of the Palazzo Vecchio is very remarkable. Between the two lions in stone is a slab inscribed with the monogram of Christ and an inscription, which formerly read, "Jesus Christus, Rex Florentini Populi. S. P. Decreto Electus" (Jesus Christ, King of the Florentine people. Elected by Deeree), but which was changed by Cosimo I. to "Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium."

Clement VII., of the Medici family, was threaten-

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\* This is a bronze copy ; the original is in the Bargello.

ing the liberty of Florence, and Nicolò Capponi, who was at that time Gonfaloniere, laid before the Signoria at the Palazzo Vecchio a strange proposition, which, in his opinion, would preserve the independence of the city. Jesus Christ was to be elected King of Florence, and His authority the Pope himself would not dare to call in question. The Council of the Thousand voted this singular expedient by a small majority, and the inscription was placed on the façade of the Palazzo Vecchio.

The present aspect of the building gives no idea of what it was like in the time of Dante and of the struggles between Guelphs and Ghibellines, for it was partly rebuilt as far back as the fifteenth century. There was always, however, a marked contrast between the rudeness of the exterior and the elaborate decoration of the interior. The inner courtyard, built by Arnolfo di Lapo, was altered, with the exquisite taste which is as much admired now as it was four hundred years ago, by Michelozzo Michelozzi in 1434, the decorations being completed in 1565 for the marriage of Francesco de' Medici and Jane of Austria by the execution of those frescoes, which it was thought would remind the young princess of her native land. In the centre is an exquisite fountain by Tadda, adorned with an animated, laughing boy playing with a dolphin, the work of Verrocchio, deservedly famous in the history of sculpture, and testifying to the supple talent of the master, who was also the sculptor of



the bronze statue of Colleoni on the Piazza San Giovanni e San Paolo at Venice.

It is always pleasant to find inscriptions upon the stones of a monument, as it prevents any possible confusion between men and things. Michelozzi, for instance, decorated the "Cortile" in 1434, and yet the embellishments executed at the marriage of Francesco in 1565 are often attributed to him. It is evident that this was not the work of one man, and the inscription beneath the portico of the Palazzo Vecchio gives the names of the sculptors even of the friezes and the foliage: Stephen Vittori da Monte Sansovino, Marco da Faenza, and Francesco Salviati. The beautiful stuccoes which ornament the columns are by Peter Paul Minocci of Forli, Leonardo Ricciarelli of Volterra, Sebastian Tadda of Fiesole, and Leonardo Marignolli. The frescoes of towns, though they were restored in 1812, are almost entirely effaced; they were by Sebastian of Verona, John Lombardi of Venice, and Cæsar Baglioni. The interior of the Palazzo Vecchio, now used for municipal purposes, contains some fine relics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some splendid frescoes of which the public knows little, a fine collection of wall-paintings by Bronzino, and a beautifully decorated chapel of St. Bernard.

The large hall, in which the Council composed of a thousand citizens was to meet, was built by the desire of Savonarola, and has since been used, four centuries





later, for the sittings of the modern Italian Parliament. The architect was Simone Pollaiuolo, surnamed "Il Cronaca," celebrated for his construction of the splendid Corinthian cornice of the Strozzi Palace. Cosimo de' Medici, when he transferred his residence from the Medici to the Vecchio Palace, instructed Baccio Bandinelli to alter this hall, and as the latter did not feel himself equal to the task, he called in the assistance of Vasari, who raised the roof more than twenty feet and decorated the ceiling. It is curious to note that twice in his life Vasari—who, as a painter, was only inferior to the great artists whose biographies he has written—should, like Michael Angelo and Carracci, have had the opportunity of covering the greatest areas of painting ever executed in Italy. He painted here thirty-nine compositions, the smallest of which is six yards in length, selecting his subjects from the history of Florence and of other cities of Tuscany, as Arezzo, Cortona, Monte Pulciano, Borgo San Sepolcro, Trebbiano, Volterra, San Gimignano, Chianti, Certaldo, and Fiesole. Romagna is alluded to with Castrocaro and the river Savio; while Casentino, Scarperia, Pistoia, Prato, Pescia, and Valdarno are represented either in allegory or by some incident of local history.

There is some ingeniousness in the arrangement of the trapezes which remained to be decorated at the corner of the Piazza San Firenze, where the Palazzo Vecchio abuts upon it. This was the part added by

Cosimo I., and Vasari, having cut out a large square divided into several panels for the execution of his regular compositions, suddenly found himself face to face with a triangle very difficult to ornament. He solved the dilemma by means of a corridor separated from the large hall, and with a play of perspective and an appropriate decoration made this part into a sort of antechamber. It was here that he painted the portraits of his associates, Bernardo di Mona Mattea, mason and contractor of the works; Battista Botticello, who had the mouldings and frameworks to attend to; and the gilder, Stephen Veltroni de Monte Sansovino. Marco da Faenza, a painter of considerable repute at the time, is believed to have assisted Vasari, who called in the help of a great many young students (*garzoni*). Another inscription, very detailed in its particulars, gives their names in full, and does justice to the humblest of them.

Proceeding from the Sala dei Cinquecento to the Sala d' Udienza, one goes through a beautiful marble door by Benedetto da Maiano, the style of which does not harmonize with the rest of the room, having been brought from the Medici Palace, to which it belonged. There still remains to be seen the chapel of San Bernardo, beautifully painted in fresco by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, but it has lost much of its beauty by having been fitted up for the use of the municipality. The present Council Room, decorated with a series of beautiful frescoes by Bronzino, which are skilfully

distributed over the whole of its surface, has preserved a grandeur and unity not often found in buildings converted to modern uses; but it is distressing to see rooms so associated with the history of Florence partitioned off and degraded into municipal offices. Their destruction can only be a question of time, and it is to be regretted that walls so bound up with the ancient history of Tuscany have not been saved from this last indignity.

#### THE LOGGIA DEL BIGALLO.

No one can pass by the corner of the Corso Adimari without having his attention arrested by the delicately earved arcades of the Bigallo, formerly a simple oratory of the Misericordia, and now an orphan asylum. This beautiful building is the work of Nicolò Pisano, one of the greatest men of the thirteenth century, whose career will be found detailed at length in the chapter on Florentine Sculpture.\*

Before the erection of this monument, the site upon which the Bigallo stands was occupied by the tower in which the dead were deposited for eighteen hours before burial. It was the tallest building in Florence, being 230 feet high, and in the course of one of the struggles for which Flor-

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\* Although Vasari attributes it to Nicolò Pisano its date shows it to belong to a much later period. It is probably the work of Andrea Orcagna, 1308 ?-1368. See Horner's *Walks in Florence and Its Environs*.

ence was notorious, the Ghibellines had it pulled down; according to the tradition instructing the architect who was employed to demolish it to arrange so that as it fell it would crush the Baptistery of San Giovanni, which was used as a meeting-place by the Guelphs; but whether this story is true or not, the Baptistery escaped destruction.

The Bigallo consists of two open arches, forming an angle with the street, and a small porch leading to a sanctuary closed by iron gates. The design of the arches is exquisite, the mouldings and decorations are in admirable taste, and on the walls may still be traced, though dimmed by time, the outlines of frescoes, sometimes attributed to Gaddi, but really the work of some artist of the fifteenth century.

Three statues of the Virgin and two saints decorate the exterior, while over the altar of the chapel is a life-size statue of the Virgin and Child between two angels with Jewish turbans on their heads, formerly believed to be by Pisano, though documents recently brought to light by Cicognara prove that they were executed by Alberto Arnoldi of Florence about 1360. A predella by Ghirlandajo and numerous other frescoes complete the decoration of this exquisite little building, which successive restorations have not deprived of its leading characteristics, and which derives not a little of its attraction from its position at the corner of the piazza where stand the Baptistery, the Duomo of Santa Maria del Fiore, and the Campanile.



## SANTA MARIA DEL FIORE.

The document which registered the decision of the municipality of Florence to erect the cathedral church in 1294 is of historical interest, as testifying to the generous spirit of the Florentine people. Its tenor is as follows :\*

“ Believing that all the acts and undertakings of a people which prides itself upon being of illustrious origin should bear the impress of grandeur and sagacity, we command Arnolfo, director of the public works of our commune, to prepare a model or drawing for the building which is to be erected in place of the church of Santa Reparata. He is bidden to display a magnificence which human power and skill can never surpass. Whatever a Government undertakes should correspond with the generous impulses of the citizens whom it represents, and this point the architect employed to build our cathedral must bear in mind.”

The name is evidently meant as an allusion to the lily in the city arms. The ceremony of laying the first stone took place on the 8th of September, 1298, Pope Boniface VIII. being represented by his legate, Cardinal Pietro Valeriano. Arnolfo's design was a Latin cross with a nave and side-aisles opening into each other by four pointed arches. In the centre of

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\* An inscription on the wall of the Duomo itself seems to indicate that this date given by Villani is incorrect and should be 1298.

the space, under the dome, was the choir, with an octagonal enclosure and an altar, and in each of the small recesses there was a rectangular chapel.

Arnolfo died in 1310, when the building had not got beyond the capitals upon which the roof was to rest, and in 1332 Giotto was appointed to carry on the work which for two hundred years was under the supervision of the greatest architects of the day.

To Giotto we owe the beautiful addition to the cathedral known throughout the world as the Campanile, which was built in 1334 on the foundations of the little church of San Zenobio. It is nearly 280 feet high, or about 30 feet less than Giotto had designed, as the spire, like that of St. Mark at Venice, with which he had intended to finish it, was not built by Taddeo Gaddi, who succeeded him. The Campanile is divided into six sections, the first two, which can easily be seen from the ground, being decorated with bas-reliefs executed by Giotto himself, Andrea Pisano, and Luca della Robbia. There is no little analogy of sentiment between these bas-reliefs and those of the famous fountain at Perugia. Above these two divisions are niches for statues, among those placed in them being the four Evangelists, by Donatello, and on the principal southern façade four prophets, three by Andrea Pisano, and the fourth by Tommaso di Stefano, surnamed Giottino. Upon the eastern and northern sides of the tower are saints and patriarchs by Donatello, Nicolò di Piero of Arezzo,

Luea della Robbia, and Nanni di Bartolo. One of the Evangelists mentioned above is the celebrated "Zuccone," the "bald" St. Matthew of Donatello, a work which he esteemed so highly that he was more than once heard, while engaged upon the statue, adjuring it to speak; while, by way of emphasizing a statement, he would say, "By the faith I have in my Zuccone."

Charles V., when he entered Florence after the siege, is reported to have said that the Campanile "ought to have a case made for it, so that it might be shown as one would a jewel." In the belfry, which commands a splendid view of the city, there are seven bells, the largest—cast in 1705 to replace one which had got cracked—weighing nearly eight tons.

The most illustrious of Giotto's successors was Filippo Brunelleschi, who, as has been described in a previous chapter, began the superb eupola in 1421. This was his *magnum opus*, exceeding in boldness of design and harmony of detail all other works of modern art. The eupola, as is generally known, is double, the inner wall being spherical, so that between it and the outer one there is room for the staircases, bracings, and chains which help to make the work more durable. Michael Angelo took this as his model when constructing the dome of St. Peter's at Rome, and Leo Battista Alberti for his unfinished temple at Rimini. It was not completed until fifteen years after

Brunelleschi's death, Andrea del Verroeechio, the sculptor of the Medici tomb in the old sacristy, designing and executing the ball, and Giovanni di Bartolo the scroll on which the cross rests. The church contains several monuments, including those of Giotto, erected by Benedetto da Maiano by order of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and of the celebrated organist Antonio Squarcialupi, who was a favorite of Lorenzo, and whose epitaph was composed by his patron. Aldobrandino Ottobuoni has his sarcophagus near the Servi door, and it is believed that Poggio is also buried here.

The walls are somewhat bare, but the building contains many works of the highest order by Donatello, Michelozzi, Ghiberti, Della Robbia, Sansovino, Bandinelli, and Andrea del Castagno. It was near the Servi door that Domenico di Michelino painted in 1465 the portrait of Dante which was ordered by the Opera del Duomo as a tardy tribute to his memory. Dante is represented in a red toga, crowned with laurel, holding in one hand his poem, while with the other he points to the Inferno. The inscription states that the execution of this fresco was suggested by Maestro Antonio, of the order of Franciscans, who had given public readings and explanations of the Divine Comedy in the Cathedral.

In this wonderful building, so closely associated with the history of Florence, was enacted the opening chapter of the Pazzi conspiracy, and it was in the

sacristy that Lorenzo took refuge after the death of Giuliano. The medallion of Pellaiuolo (see chapter on Giuliano de' Medici) shows what was the appearance of the octagonal choir then standing beneath the dome. The façade of Santa Maria del Fiore was completed in 1887 from designs by De Fabris.

#### THE BAPTISTERY OF SAN-GIOVANNI.

This is the most ancient building in Florence, for if not of pagan origin it certainly dates from the earliest ages of Christianity. It was coated with marble of different colors by Arnolfo di Cambio in 1293, while in the sixteenth century Agnolo Gaddi designed the lantern; but long before Arnolfo's time it had been employed as a Christian place of worship, being used as a cathedral up to 1128, when it was converted into a baptistery. L

This building contains three gates, which have no parallel in the world. The oldest is that on the southern side, upon which Pisano spent twenty-two years of his life, a most beautiful work representing, in twenty compartments, the life of St. John the Baptist. The frieze which runs round it was commenced nearly a century afterwards by Ghiberti, and Pollaiuolo had much to do with its completion.

The northern gates are by Ghiberti, and, like those of Pisano, are divided into twenty compartments, the subject being the life of Christ. The bronze door-posts are delicately carved with flowers, fruit, and animals.

These gates were first placed on the eastern side, but in 1452 were removed to make room for Ghiberti's still finer work.

On the third façade, that which faces the Duomo, is the Porta del Paradiso, so named by Michael Angelo, who declared that this gate was worthy to be the entrance into Paradise. Ghiberti divided each panel into five parts, taking the following as his subjects, after suggestions made by Leonardo Bruni Aretino: (1) Creation of Adam and Eve; (2) Cain and Abel; (3) Noah; (4) Abraham and Isaac; (5) Jacob and Esau; (6) Joseph in Egypt; (7) Moses on Mount Sinai; (8) The Capture of Jericho; (9) David Slaying Goliath; (10) The Queen of Sheba and Solomon.

The frieze contains statuettes of the prophets and prophetesses and portrait-busts of men and women still alive, including Ghiberti himself and his father; while the frame-posts, with their masses of vegetation and flora wrought in bronze, are admirable for their truth to nature. Bronze groups representing the "Decapitation of St. John the Baptist," by Danti, and the "Baptism of our Lord," by Andrea Sansovino, surmount two of the gates, which were at one time heavily gilded, though few traces of this are now visible.

The Baptistery, empty as it appears to the eye upon first entering it, is replete with beautiful monuments, a description of which would fill a good-sized volume. It is built, as I have already said, upon an



octagonal plan. The altar, which formerly stood beneath the eupola, has been removed. On the 24th of June every year the magnificent retablo in massive silver, which is preserved among the treasures in the Opera del Duomo, is displayed in the Baptistery. The silver alone weighs 325 lbs., including two centre pieces, two side pieces, and a silver crucifix with two statuettes seven feet high and weighing 141 lbs., the group being completed by two statues of Peace in engine-turned silver. Many artists were employed upon the making of it. Finiguerra, Pollaiuolo, Cione, Michelozzi, Verrocchio, and Cennini made the lower parts and the bas-reliefs of the front, while the cross, executed in 1456, is by Betto di Franceseo, and the base of it by Milano di Domenico Dei and Antonio Pollaiuolo.

The interior of the cupola of San Giovanni is ornamented with some of the oldest specimens of mosaic decoration in Florence, these Byzantine artists being the first, after Murano and Altino, to exercise their craft in Italy, and being succeeded by Jacopo da Turrita, Andrea Tafi, and Gaddo Gaddi.

In the biography of Cosimo the Elder I have alluded to the handsome tomb of Baldassare Cossa (Pope John XXIII., deposed at the time of the Council of Constance), which was reared in the Baptistery by Donatello. The Holy of Holies is relatively modern, having been erected at the expense of the Guild of the "Calimala," as the men who gave the



finishing touch to the woollen stuffs manufactured abroad were called. The baptismal font, in a building specially used for christening, would, as a matter of course, be intrusted to artists of great repute, and that at San Giovanni is attributed to Andrea Pisano. Upon each face is represented one of the Baptisms most famous in the history of the Catholic religion, an inscription beneath explaining each episode; but this font is unfortunately so much in the background that it escapes the notice of many visitors.

Donatello carved the wooden statue of the Magdalen which occupies one of the niches, the thin emaciated face being typical of the artist's partiality for reproducing in their smallest details the physical defects of his subject. With regard to the other features of interest in the Baptistery, they will be found noticed in their proper place—the mosaics of Andrea Tafi in the chapter on Painting, and the bas-reliefs of Ghiberti in that on sculpture, while the works of Donatello and Pisano have already been dealt with. The exterior aspect of the Baptistery does not give one the idea of a building restored in the thirteenth, but rather in the fifteenth century.

#### THE PONTE VECCHIO.

Until the close of 1080 the Ponte Vecchio was built of wood, the heavy masses of timber, though offering no steady resistance to the stream, dividing the muddy course of the waters into a thousand small





currents, and breaking its force. But in 1177 occurred one of those inundations which were so frequent that traces of them may still be seen on the walls of the quays. These inundations were one of the curses of Florence, and though the evil has been to a certain extent cured by the construction of massive quays, they still occur in the direction of the Cascine. An attempt was accordingly made in the twelfth century to obviate this inconvenience by the construction of a stone bridge. This, in turn, was carried away in 1333, and Taddeo Gaddi, who had already made a name for himself by his architectural skill, was employed to build a bridge capable of resisting the highest floods. The present bridge was therefore erected in 1345, being 330 feet long by 44 wide. With the double object of obtaining an income for the city and of introducing a novel feature, shops were built on the two pathways, which were 16 feet wide, and these were let to the butchers of Florence, thus realizing the Eastern plan of concentrating the meat trade of a town in one place. This arrangement lasted from 1422 until 1593, but in the latter year, under Cosimo I., the "Capitani di Parte," who had the supervision of the streets and highways, ordered that all the goldsmiths and jewellers should take the place of the butchers, and in a few months the Ponte Vecchio became the wealthiest and most crowded thoroughfare of Florence. In order to avoid shutting out a view of the stream and interfering with

the perspective, an open space had been reserved in the centre, and when the Palazzo Vecchio and the Uffizi were connected with the Pitti Palace by means of the large covered way carried over the bridge, this space was left intact so as to afford a view of the eminence of San Miniato upon one side, of the windings of the stream on the other, and of the Cascine shrubberies and the mountains upon the horizon.

The first bridge above was built in 1235 by Messer Rubaconte, a Milanese of the Casa Mandella, then Podestà of Florence, and is called Alle Grazie. The first bridge of Santa Trinita, afterwards replaced by the beautiful one which we owe to the genius of Ammanati, was built by Messer Lamberto Frescobaldi, and the bridge Alla Carraja was begun in 1218 by one Lapo. The great flood of 1333 carried all of them away, and this disaster is recorded upon a stone which bears the following inscription :

“ Del Trentatre dopo l'mille Tracento,  
Il Ponte Cadde per diluvio d'Acque  
Poi dodici anni, come al comun piacque,  
Rifatto fu con questo adornamento.”

#### SANTA CROCE.

Built by Arnolfo, then fifty-four years of age, by order of the Friars of St. Francis, this venerable temple was raised upon the piazza called Santa Croce, where formerly stood a small church belonging to the order of Franciscan monks. They had resolved to

embellish and enlarge their church, and Cardinal Matteo D'Acquasparta, general of the Franciscan Order, proclaimed an indulgence to all contributors towards the undertaking. The church was far enough advanced in 1320 for services to be held in it, though the façade was then, as until a very recent period it remained, a plain brick wall, without facing or any other ornament. Santa Croce was not singular in this respect, for San Lorenzo and many other Florentine churches have never been decorated externally.

In 1442 Cardinal Bessarion, the founder of St. Mark's Library at Venice, was delegated to perform the ceremony of consecration. Donatello and Ghiberti, incomplete as was the façade, executed some statues and a stained-glass window for it, but it is only within the last few years that the city of Florence completed the work, leaving untouched the grand piazza which had been the scene of so many *fêtes* and intestine quarrels, and upon which is now erected a statue to Dante.\*

The interior is striking from its vast size, the church being built in the shape of a Latin cross, with nave, aisles, and transepts, each of the seven pointed arches being supported on an octagonal column. Opposite the front entrance is the high altar, while all

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\* The façade of Santa Croce was completed in 1863. The expense having been principally born by Mr. Francis Sloane, an Englishman.

around the walls and between the side altars—erected in 1557 by Vasari by order of Cosimo I.—are the monuments of the illustrious dead. First of all on the left there is Domenico Sestini, a celebrated numismatist, whose bust was carved by Pozzetti. While in the first chapel on the right is the tomb of Michael Angelo, who died at Rome on the 17th of February, 1564; the monument was designed by Vasari, the bust was executed by Battista Lorenzo. Two contemporary sculptors, Valerio Cioli and Giovanni Dell’Opera, did the allegories of Sculpture and Architecture, the frescoes around the monument being by Battista Naldini. A nobler tomb might well have been raised to the memory of Michael Angelo. The body was deposited in the church on the 12th of March, 1564, and lay in state, for the people of Florence to come and pay him the last tribute of respect.

The next tomb is only commemorative, for it does not contain the ashes of Dante, in whose honor it was erected in 1829 by Rieci, as a tardy homage on the part of Florence to one who suffered so much for her sake in life.

After Dante comes Victor Alfieri, whose name has been borne with distinction by his descendants. This monument was erected by Canova in 1807. Compared with the monuments of the fifteenth century and of the Renaissance, which are to be seen in such splendid profusion in Florence, these tombs seem so inferior that it is impossible not to wonder how the



decadence was brought about. It is not at Florence alone that this feeling manifests itself; for at Venice, in the splendid temple of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, beside the tombs of doges and condottieri of the fifteenth century there stands that wretched monument upon which the great name of Titian has been traced. This is evidently the result of an inevitable law to which humanity is subject. Genius comes into the world, grows, spreads, and covers the earth with its shadow: then slowly the sap runs back from the verdant trunk, the tree yields less luscious fruit and flowers not so fair, until at last the branches wither and the tree dies.

Close beside Alfieri is buried Machiavelli, his tomb, like so many of the others, being of modern erection, and consequently less beautiful than if it had been the work of a sculptor who had studied in the school of Ghiberti or Donatello. By the side of Machiavelli rests Luigi Lanzi, a name less generally known, though celebrated in his time as an historiographer of painting, or an art critic as we should now call him. His friend, Chevalier Ornofrio Boni, prepared the design for his tomb, which was executed at public cost. The pulpit—a fine specimen of fifteenth-century sculpture, carved by Benedetto da Maiano at the cost of Pietro Mellini, who presented it to the church—is well worth close inspection; and close by, between the tombs of Lanzi and Leonardo Bruni, is a group in freestone, representing the Annunciation.

This was one of the first of Donatello's works, and gave an earnest of his future genius.

The tomb of Leonardo Bruni Aretino is one of the five or six greatest works of this nature which ever left the sculptor's hands ; it has been used as a model by the sculptors of all the tombs in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome. Born in 1369, Leonardo died at Florence in 1443 ; he was a man of letters, a savant, and an adroit diplomatist, though his favorite study was the law, his reputation as a jurisconsult being of the highest. For a long time, however, he was so attached to literature that he abandoned politics for it ; was a thorough Greek scholar and a decided partisan of the doctrines of Aristotle. He had served as Apostolic Secretary under four popes, and when John XXIII. was driven into exile he followed him from Constance. The Papal bulls of the early part of the fifteenth century, noted for the excellence of their Latin, were drawn up by him. It was not until towards the end of his life that he could be induced to abandon his post at the Vatican and come to live at Florence, where he fulfilled several very difficult missions, and died Chancellor of the Republic. He was eulogized in the most extravagant terms by his contemporaries, and his epitaph records that "the Muses, when they learnt the death of Leonardo, could not restrain their tears, and were dumb." He left behind him a History of Florence from its foundation until 1404, and this work seems to have been highly ap-

preciated at the time, for there are manuscripts of it in nearly every important library throughout Italy. The monument to Leonardo Bruni is the highest expression of sculptural art, combining all the taste of ancient Greece with the grace, the power, the calm, the supreme harmony, and the perfection which genius alone confers, its tranquil and subdued beauty comparing favorably with the theatrical effect and garish splendor of the monuments in St. John Lateran and St. Peter's at Rome. The superb mausoleums of Leopardi and of the Lombardi at Venice are, perhaps, equally beautiful; but I am inclined to give the preference to the work of Bernardo Rossellini. He became acquainted with Leonardo Bruni at the Papal Court, where he, as well as Leo Battista Alberti, was a director of the pontifical works. The Madonna let into the upper part of the monument is by Andrea Verocchio.

Close by the tomb of Bruni is that of P. A. Micheli, a celebrated botanist, who died at the age of fifty in 1737; and the last monument on this side of the nave before reaching the transept is that of Leopoldo Nobili, who died at Florence in 1833. These are but second-rate works compared with those which precede them, but the names of the artists have been kept alive, Leopoldo Veneziani having prepared the designs, and Francesco Pozzi carved the bas-reliefs, in which the genius of science is seen lifting the veil of nature, which is being held up by the allegorical

figure of Tuscany. Not far from these is the mausoleum which Bartolini, one of the best modern sculptors in Florence, erected to the memory of Leo Battista Alberti, who as writer, architect, sculptor, and medallionist, was one of the leading men of his day (1404-1472). His death attracted but little notice, and he was buried without pomp at Rome, and no tomb was raised to his memory.

The mausoleums against the opposite wall of the main nave are those of the Senator Giovanni Vincenzo Alberti; of Antonio Cocchi, an antiquary, who died in 1773; and of Carlo Marsuppini, Secretary of the Republic, who died in 1453.

This last-named mausoleum is one of the most beautiful of the works fashioned by human hands, and it is by the erection of monuments like this that Florence has taken rank immediately after Athens in regard to intellectual culture.

There are some artists, just as there are some poets, who, dying at an age when life seems to be opening joyously before them, leave behind them an impression of tender melancholy which may even be traced in their works. Desiderio da Settignano, the author of the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini, who died at the age of five-and-thirty, was one of these. He was born in 1428, and his father, Bartolomeo di Francesco, a stone-cutter at Settignano, was a friend of Raphael's father, who, in his "*Cronaca Rimata*," refers to the boy as "*Il bravo Desider si dolce e bello*," these two

adjectives seeming to imply that he was a handsome youth. Of the work itself it is difficult to give an adequate description, the dead body reposing upon the sarcophagus, and the angelic faces of the two children on either side, striking one, as it were, dumb with admiration. This monument has not the over-awing effect of the Sistine Chapel; it is not pompous and theatrical, like the Lateran chapels; nor is it merely elegant, noble, and exquisite, like those of Leopardi or Lombardi; but there is something more human and more tender about it; so much so, that after a long study of the painters and sculptors of the fifteenth century, one is liable not to do full justice to their successors who brought about a revolution in art, and gave expression to new ideas. If the great sculptor Donatello had left no other work scored to his credit save his pupil Desiderio, his name would still be gratefully remembered.

Carlo Marsuppini, to whom this monument was erected, has already been referred to as the Secretary of the Republic, and one of the most illustrious of Florentine citizens. The son of a distinguished jurisconsult, who is himself buried by the side of his son, he was the pupil of Giovanni of Ravenna, and of Emanuel Chrysoloras a man of profound learning, who derived great pleasure in teaching Greek to the young men of Ravenna. The father of Carlo, who had been for a short time Governor of Genoa, was likewise secretary to Charles VI. of France, and the

son was also employed in the public service, his first mission being to accompany Cosimo de' Medici to Parma: thence he passed into the service of Pope Eugenius IV., and then he came to Florence and acted as secretary to the Republic. He several times represented the city as ambassador, and at his death the people honored his memory by one of the grand funeral ceremonies then in vogue. Upon the 24th of April, 1453, the body was placed upon a state bed, robed in silk, around which streamed banners from the Pope, the King of France, the towns of Florence and Arezzo, and each of the communities and associations of the city. Matteo Palmieri, one of the most learned men of the day, placed a laurel wreath upon his brow and pronounced a funeral eulogy.

After the tomb of the Secretary comes that of one less illustrious, Angiolo Tavanti, secretary to the Emperor Francis, husband of Marie Therese, who died in 1782. This monument is by Spinazzi, who also carved that erected to Giovanni Lami, who, though now somewhat forgotten, rendered no little service to Florentine literature by his many classical publications. Lami was born in 1698 and died in 1770.

In visiting Santa Croce it is impossible not to feel how erroneous are the views often held as to the exact place which will be allotted in the roll of history to the men of the day. Many of the names in this Pantheon are almost unknown, the tomb next to that of Galileo containing the dust of Mulazzi-Signorini,









who has never been heard of out of Italy. Another unavoidable reflection is that the talent of the sculptor is rarely in proportion to that of the man whose memory he is about to perpetuate. Machiavelli was commemorated by two obscure sculptors like Foggini and Ticcati, and Michael Angelo by Battista Lorenzi. What has the world not lost by the refusal of Michael Angelo's offer to erect a tomb to Dante when the city of Florence was about to ask Ravenna to restore his remains to her!

Among the less illustrious persons whose tombs are to be seen in Santa Croce may be mentioned the Countess of Albany, whose monument is by Luigi Giovannozzi and Emilio Santarelli, Raddi the botanist, John Catrick, Princess Charlotte Bonaparte, Joseph Salvetti, Raphael Morghen, Bettino Ricasoli, the architect Alexander Galilei, the Countess Zamoïska, and the Castellani.

It would be superfluous to describe all the parts of this vast monument, which, interesting in itself, contains numerous works of art in the way of pictures, bas-reliefs, and frescoes, by Taddeo Gaddi, Starnina, Mainardi, and even Giotto.

The convent annexed to Santa Croce was also built by Arnolfo. It was originally occupied by the Franciscan monks, and it was here that, from 1284 to 1782, the Inquisition held its sittings. The notorious Frenchman, Gauthier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, who for a brief period ruled Florence as Cap-

tain of the People, selected this monastery as his residence in June, 1342, but having in September of the same year succeeded in getting himself elected ruler of Florence for life, he removed to the Palazzo Vecchio. His reign, however, was of only brief duration, for the year following he was expelled by the people.

St. Bernard of Siena; the celebrated Felix Peretti, the monk who cast away his crutches, exclaiming, "*Ego sum Papa*;" the mighty Sixtus Quintus; and Pope Clement XIV. were all monks of Santa Croce.

The cloister is also very interesting, for although the form of decoration has been altered by successive generations, the primitive design has been preserved. Among the dead buried in it are the Alamanni, Francesco Pazzi, and Gastone della Torre Patriarch of Aquileia and Bishop of Milan, who died at Florence on the 8th of April, 1317, from the effects of a fall from his horse.

#### THE CHAPEL OF THE PAZZI.

At the end of the cloister of Santa Croce is the Chapel of the Pazzi, built in 1410 by the powerful family of that name, who intrusted the work to Filippo Brunelleschi. By permission of the family, this chapel was used as a chapter-house for the monks of Santa Croce, and in 1566 four thousand of them assembled there to hear the regulations for the establishment of the Inquisition. The chapel of the Pazzi is one of the sanctuaries of Italian art, having a purity of taste

peculiar to Florence, and is as perfect a specimen as could be desired of the new architecture which Brunelleschi introduced at the dawn of the Renaissance.

When an architect of authority and genius can enforce strict discipline on his fellow-workers he obtains complete harmony both in general effect and in detail. This was the case with Brunelleschi's work, and Luca della Robbia, who was one of his assistants, not only brought into play his abilities as a sculptor, but improved the general effect by the rich friezes with which he ornamented the interior. There are such a vast number of works by his brothers and the artists of his school that his own achievements are apt to be overlooked, but the chapel of the Pazzi contains specimens of his art of which he might well be proud. The Four Evangelists life-size in glazed terra-cotta, the heads of the Twelve Apostles on the upper part of the walls, and a frieze composed of a host of angels' heads and scutcheons, form a charming whole, perfect in form, rich in appearance, and of a coloring both enduring and brilliant. Another interesting feature, from an architectural point of view, is the use of terra-cotta in the decoration of the ceiling, and of the cupola in the portico of the chapel.

The building was commenced by Andrea Pazzi, and at his death the work was carried on by his son Francesco, who is buried in the convent. Apart from the architectural work, the Pazzi employed the most famous artists of the day for the decoration of the

altars. Many of the heads and figures of the angels are by Donatello.

In the work of Francesco Bocchi, revised by Cinelli, and published in the seventeenth century under the title of "*Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze*," it is stated that Galileo is buried at the foot of an altar in the Medici chapel; and as the author says that, at the time of his writing, the tomb was still in the same place, it must be assumed either that the monument in Santa Croce is only commemorative, or that his remains have been removed there since.\*

#### THE BARGELLO.

Formerly known as the Palazzo del Podestà, this palace, now transformed into a National Museum, was also erected by Arnolfo, and is a very fine specimen of thirteenth-century architecture.

In September, 1250, there was a popular rising against the Ghibellines. As a matter of course, there was a complete change of government, the first "Captain of the People" was appointed, and the office conferred upon Hubert of Lucca, who had under him twelve elders (*Anziani*). Arnolfo di Cambio was re-

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\* On the death of Galileo the feeling of the clergy against him was so strong that they would not permit him to be buried within the church; his remains were, therefore, left neglected in a spot to the right of the altar in the chapel of the Novitiate of the Medici until 1757, when they were removed, and, in accordance with his own dying request, deposited beside the body of his favorite pupil, Viviani, in the nave of the church.

quested to build a palace for their accommodation, and the site selected was that of a church attached to the neighboring monastery of the Badia, now so celebrated for its venerable appearance, and for the beautiful works by Mino da Fiesole which it contains. It would be difficult to describe what the Bargello was like in the thirteenth century, for its form was changed in 1345 by Agnolo Gaddi.\* It was first called the Palazzo del Commune, and afterwards the Palace of the Podestà, being styled the Bargello when it was used as a residence for the Chief of Police, who bore that title.

Now a National Museum, and restored with a careful regard to its original aspect, it presents a very imposing appearance, and is, without exception, the best preserved of all the ancient monuments in Florence. The scutcheons of the various Podestàs and of the ordinary members of council, let into the walls give a very characteristic appearance to the ornamentation. This was a general usage at the time, and many interesting specimens of this description of decoration, now fallen into disuse, are to be seen at the Town Hall of Fiesole and in the little village at which so many travellers halt to visit the famous "Certosa," beyond the gates of Florence.

Another singular usage—though it was dictated by

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\* This statement, for which Vasari is responsible, is disputed, it being asserted by some authorities that Neri di Fiorovarti was the architect of the present building.

a sentiment of quite an opposite kind—was that of representing, on the walls of the Bargello, frescoes of traitors and rebels, and in 1345 Giotto was employed to paint the features of the Duke of Athens after his downfall, though, unfortunately for us, this fresco is now almost entirely obliterated.

The walls of the Bargello chapel were well known to be covered with paintings by Giotto, which, when the building was converted into a prison, were concealed beneath a coat of whitewash, and only brought to light again in 1840, portraits of Dante, Brunetto, Latini, and Charles of Valois being discovered among them. During the fourteenth century the prisoners condemned to death were executed in the court-yard of the Bargello, and this contributed to give the place a sinister name. But art now reigns supreme within its walls, and the great names of Donatello, Verrocchio, Michael Angelo, Maiano, Desiderio, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and the brothers Della Robbia, have obliterated the recollection of the gloom in which the palace was once involved.

#### ANDREA ORCAGNA.

(1308–1376.)

A large place in the history of Florentine art is that held by Andrea Orcagna, surnamed Cione, because he was the son of Matteo Cione, who was himself an unrivalled goldsmith in his day, and to whom we owe part of a work matchless in its way,



viz., the famous silver altar treasured up in the "Opera del Duomo."

Oreagna was born in 1308, and the date of his death is given by some authorities as 1368, and by others as 1376. He was goldsmith, architect, painter, sculptor, and even poet, combining, like so many of his compatriots in the fourteenth and two following centuries, manifold gifts. As a goldsmith he worked under the direction of his father, and he received lessons in painting from his eldest brother, Bernardi. He soon gave up the goldsmith's trade for fresco painting, and there is reason to believe that his greatest paintings were done while he was between five-and-twenty and five-and-thirty. His brother Bernardi, many of whose works are ascribed to Andrea, painted the two large frescoes of Hell and Heaven in Santa Maria Novella, though he was assisted in them by his brother. He showed so much talent in easel-painting—the London National Gallery has a fine specimen of his pictures in the "Coronation of the Virgin"—that he was employed to decorate the walls of the Campo Santo at Pisa. This was the great work of his life, and he showed real genius in painting a commentary on those lines in which Horace describes how "pale death with one blow overturns the cottage of the poor and the palace of the great." A good deal is said about "realism" and "naturalism" in the present day, but Orcagna rendered palpable by his unpretentious style of art the idea which

he had in his mind, and the most simple cannot fail to seize his meaning.\*

Andrea Orcagna first distinguished himself as an architect in connection with Or San Michele. Arnolfo had built upon the site of an old Lombard church dedicated to St. Michael a sort of Loggia, to be used as a corn mart, of the kind so common in Italy, the vaulted roof resting on brick columns, with open arches between them. A celebrated painter of his day, Ugolino of Siena, had decorated one of the columns with a Madonna, and about the middle of the thirteenth century this became a place of pilgrimage. In 1294 it was rumored that a miracle had been wrought there in presence of the people, and crowds came on market days with votive offerings, until at last the wealthy corn merchants determined to erect a building more worthy of the object of their worship. The opportunity occurred in 1304, when, by the carelessness of a prior of San Piero Scheraggio, known as "Neri Abati," the corn market was burnt down, together with seven hundred houses and towers.

At the joint initiative of the corn merchants and of a lay order which had assumed the guardianship of the Madonna, the members styling themselves captains of Or San Michele (*Or* being derived from *Horreum*, granary),† it was resolved to rebuild the

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\* These frescoes are now generally attributed to some artist of the Sienese school.

† Or, according to some authorities from *Hortus*, a garden.

Loggia, and the work was intrusted to Taddeo Gaddi, at that time chief architect (Capo Maestro) of the Commune. Above the part set aside for the corn exchange he built two stories, one for the Administration and the other for the granaries, which accounts for the peculiar shape of what is now the church. The first stone was laid with great pomp, and two years later the Corporation of Silk-weavers (*Arte della Seta*) having asked permission to place the statue of their patron saint in one of the niches of the new building, the other corporations asked a like favor. Thus it was that in course of time the original use of the building was changed, and it came to be a consecrated place of worship. Large sums were continually being bequeathed to it, and in fifty years the gifts of the pilgrims alone amounted to 350,000 florins. When the plague raged in Tuscany, carrying off three-fifths of the inhabitants of Florence, four-fifths of the population of Pisa, and eight thousand inhabitants of Siena, the Florentines might have been seen kneeling night and day before the Virgin of the Pillar, offering to dedicate their fortunes to her if they were spared. The Signoria, acting in accordance with the popular feeling, passed a law by which the captains of Or San Michele were to receive a third of the property of persons who had slain one of their relatives in order to obtain his or her inheritance.

It was under these circumstances that Andrea Orcagna was called in to transform the granary into a

church, its history and situation making it one of the most interesting monuments in Florence. There it stands, without perspective or set-off, as impossible to sketch or to photograph as to see, situated in a narrow and ill-built street, along which, as is so often the case in Florence, one might pass without noticing it.\* Oreagna closed in the open arches with Gothic windows, placing the niches for the different patron saints of the guilds between them. The famous painting of Ugolino of Siena was enclosed by him in a shrine, a work unique of its kind.

This shrine is of white marble, and Gothic in style, the sculptures representing the principal episodes in the life of the Virgin. The holy image is in the centre of the composition, which is surmounted by an open-worked lid, with statuettes of the Archangel Michael and an angel above. There is a whole mass of bas-reliefs, statues, busts, mosaics, incrustated stones, brilliant enamels, and stained glass, the great variety of material not marring the general harmony. Perkins, in his "Italian Sculptors," gives the following complete description of it, accompanied by etchings of some of the bas-reliefs. He says, "Upon three sides of the base, in octagonal recesses, are bas-reliefs representing the Birth, Presentation, and Marriage of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the

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\* The alterations which have taken place in Florence since this was written have entirely changed the surroundings of Or San Michele.

Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and an angel announcing to the Virgin her approaching end. The Virgin, represented as an aged woman, is looking with an expression of hope and submission at the divine messenger, and is receiving a palm branch, which will render her body invisible to the Jews when carried to the tomb. . . . The subjects are divided by small bas-reliefs, representing the Christian virtues, and surrounded by small figures personifying the Virtues, the Sciences, and the Arts. Above the base and behind the shrine there is a large panel representing the death of the Madonna, laid out upon her bed and surrounded by the Apostles, and her ascent in the mystic 'Mandorla,' whence she lets fall her belt, to convince the doubting St. Thomas."

It is worth noting that Oreagna, instead of concealing his identity, as was the case with so many of his contemporaries, made a point of signing his works, and on the shrine in San Michele may be read in Gothic letters the inscription, "Andreas Cionis, pictor Fiorentinus . . . extitit hujus LIXMCCC." He also reproduced his own features in one of the bas-reliefs of this shrine, executed, as the inscription proves, when he was only thirty years of age.

Those who are interested in art will also observe that most of the great artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who were at once architects, painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths, place the word "sculptor"

or "goldsmith" in the corner of a picture; while to a piece of sculpture they append the signature of "painter" or "architect," as if to prove that their talents were manifold. Such was the ease with Ghiberti, Pollaiuolo, Pisanello, Fra Angelico, and several others. The celebrated Madonna by Ugolino, which caused the Loggia to be converted into a church, has not, unfortunately, survived, for he painted "alla Greca," and as he transferred it at once on "intonaco," to use the term of the day, it had either been destroyed by the fire of 1304, or had gradually been obliterated by the damp air before Orcagna made the shrine. But an artist whose name is unknown—some pupil of Giotto, no doubt—painted a Madonna on canvas for it.\*

Orcagna was ten years about this work, beginning by closing in the arcades and by opening a door on to the Via Calimara, completely changing the appearance which the Loggia had when built by Taddeo Gaddi.

The church, as we see it now, is the result of two centuries of embellishments, but it was in the fifteenth century more especially that the guilds showed the greatest liberality, the result of the respective donations of the wool-carders, the butchers, the smiths,

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\* There is great diversity of opinion as to the authorship of this picture. It has been attributed to Lanzi, Orcagna, Lorenzo Monaco, and Bernardo Daddi in turn, but the latest investigations seem to settle the question in favor of the last named, an artist of the fourteenth century.



the farriers, etc., being a sort of external altar, very peculiar in shape, and having a mass of variegated ornamentation, typical of the development of the sculptor's art in Florence.

Apart from its artistic importance, Or San Michele is interesting, because it symbolizes the strength and influence of the guilds of Florence, which may be said to have made the city not only wealthy and famous, but noble and beautiful. The guilds, in short, were the first and most beneficent patrons of art in Florence and throughout Italy.

There were fourteen niches on the outside, and these were gradually filled with statues of the patron saints of the various guilds, whose banners were displayed from them on the festival of St. Anne. This ceremony, which was one of the most imposing of the year, was first observed upon the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, and notwithstanding the dissolution of the guilds, it is still carried on.

Beginning at the northwest, we see the statue of St. Matthew, by Michelozzo Michelozzi, and a careful inspection of the hem of the cloak which the saint is represented as wearing will disclose the following inscription:—"Opus, Universitatis cansorum, Florentiæ An. Dom. MCCCCXX." The niche itself was designed by Niccolò Aretino, and the guild of money-changers bore the cost.\*

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\* The niche was more probably designed by Ghiberti, to whom the statue is also sometimes ascribed.



Lorenzo Ghiberti did the statue of St. Stephen, in the second niche, for the Guild of Wool-combers. The Guild of Smiths employed Nanni, the son of Antonio di Banco, less famous than Ghiberti, but an artist of sterling ability, to carve their statue. A bas-relief at the foot represents the bishop under whose protection this guild placed itself, in the act of shoeing a horse possessed by a devil. This façade, looking on to a dark, narrow street, is often overlooked by visitors ; but, with its singular corridor connecting the upper stories of Or San Michele with the neighboring house, it is very picturesque. The street in question is called "Sdruciole di San Michele." The flax merchants obtained permission to place the statue of their patron saint (St. Mark) in the first niche of the south side, and the work was intrusted to Donatello, who carved a statue which is not so much admired as many of his works, though Michael Angelo is reported to have said of it, "How can any one not believe the Gospel, when it is preached by a saint whose countenance is honesty itself?"

Donatello also did the statue of St. George for the armorers, and this is one of the finest specimens of the sculptor's art. St. George is in full armor, standing upright, and with one hand resting on his shield. The noble and tranquil dignity of the saint, defying, as it were, an invisible enemy, is the most striking feature in this remarkable work.

On the pedestal may be seen a small bas-relief by

Donatello of St. George slaying the Dragon, a terracotta reproduction of which is in the South Kensington Museum.\*

On the southern front is the statue of St. John the Evangelist, executed by Baecio da Montelupo for the Guild of the "Por Santa Maria," and above these niches, in the spandrels, Luca della Robbia placed the arms and emblems of the different guilds done in terra-cotta or majolica. The façade, which is most noticed, overlooking as it does one of the most crowded streets of Florence, has in its centre a splendid niche, the architectural design of which is by Donatello, the niche itself containing the figure of St. Thomas thrusting his finger into the side of our Lord, by Verrocchio, the tribunal of the Mercanzia having found the funds for this effective composition.

Giovanni da Bologna, at a later period, executed for the Guild of Judges and Notaries the statue of St. Luke, which occupies the first niche on the eastern front, while that of St. Peter on the north side is by Donatello, who did it for the Guild of Butchers.

The Guild of Shoemakers instructed Nanni di Banco to carve a statue of St. Philip for the second niche on the north front, and the Carpenters and Masons employed him to erect a group of four uncrowned saints martyred under Diocletian. An anee-

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\* The original St. George by Donatello is at present in the National Museum—Il Bargello—whither it was taken in 1892, a cast being substituted at Or San Michele.

dote, which proves what a great influence Donatello possessed over the artists of his day, is told in connection with this work. When the saints were finished Nanni discovered that they were too big for the niche, and he consulted Donatello, who promised to help him out of his trouble if he would give a supper to him and his workmen. Donatello set to work, and after knocking off portions of the shoulders and arms of the four saints, brought them into such close contact that they could be placed in the niche without difficulty. It will be seen from the foregoing description that Or San Michele is a true sanctuary of Florentine art. In the interior, which, like the exterior, is the work of successive generations, the magnificent shrine of Orcagna, representing the history of the Virgin, first attracts our attention. The first altar to the right is modern, while that consecrated to St. Anne dates from the close of the last century, in the centre being a handsome group of St. Anne and the Virgin, by San Gallo, an artist with something of Michael Angelo's manner.

Simon da Fiesole had decorated the rear altar for the Guild of Grocers, but it has been entirely renovated, and, except for the handsome vaulted roof and Orcagna's shrine, the interior has not the attractions of the exterior. Still there is no sanctuary in Florence more venerated, the sacred picture of Ugolino helping to inspire the people of the present day with the same respect which was shown it in the Middle

Ages. There are two curious legends, also, in connection with the group of the Virgin and Child, by Simon da Fiesole. One of these is that a Jew having, in 1493, struck them a blow on the face, he was pursued and stoned to death by the children of Florence, an inscription at the base of the statue commemorating this occurrence. It was reported again in 1628 that the Virgin had been seen to move and blink her eyes, and as the plague occurred in Florence two years later, this was of course said to have been a presage of the calamity.

#### THE LOGGIA DEI LANZI.

Concurrently with the work which was being carried on in Or San Michele, Orcagna was assisting in the building of the Orvieto Cathedral, where he spent the year 1360; but so much pressure was put upon him that he did not remain there long, and returned to Florence, the first important work which he undertook after that being the "Loggia dei Lanzi." According to Gaye and Ricci, who are the most trustworthy authorities, this work was begun in 1374, but Italian dates of this period are never to be relied upon altogether.\* The building of the Loggia was interrupted by war and civil dissensions during a period of ten years, but Baldinucci, in his "*Libro di Ricordanze del Proveditore Stieri*," referring to the sums

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\* The Loggia dei Lanzi is also attributed to Benci di Cione, who may have executed it from designs made by Orcagna.

paid to the sculptors who assisted in carving the statues above the Loggia, shows that considerable progress must have been made in a short period. It was thought at one time that Orcagna had carved the statues of the four Cardinal Virtues, but Gaddi and Giovanni Seti are now known to have executed those of "Fortitude" and "Temperance," if not the two others.

The Loggia merits a somewhat detailed description, for it is an open-air Tribune, holding much the same position as regards sculpture as the famous Uffizi Tribune does in respect to painting. Orcagna, by the substitution of full for pointed arches, made an innovation in architecture which was generally followed.

The principal characteristics of this handsome building are boldness of design, elegance, and strength; it consists of three open arches with three pillars, enclosing a platform raised six steps above the square.

The Loggia was originally designed to protect the citizens from the weather during the discussion of public affairs. About 1541 Cosimo I. brought to Florence a Swiss Guard composed of two hundred soldiers, and the name—De' Lanzi—dates from this period, the derivation being from the word *Lancer*. Not that the Loggia was occupied as a guard-house, like that on the Piazza of St. Mark at Venice, but there was a barrack close by, and there is no doubt

that the soldiers on guard at the Palazzo Vecchio paced up and down before it. The first captain of the Swiss Guard was named Fuggler, and his men were quartered first in the Fortezza da Basso, then in the Medici Palace, and finally on the Piazza itself. The Swiss Guard was only abolished in 1745, and its uniform was similar to that of the Pope's Guard at the Vatican.

The aspect of the Loggia has changed with time, though its architecture has undergone no modification, the various pieces of sculpture being placed in it as they were executed. Michael Angelo urged Cosimo I. to continue the colonnade all round the Piazza, but the idea was not carried out on account of the expense. The oldest of all the works of sculpture placed in the Loggia is beyond question Donatello's "Judith," though it was not originally intended to occupy its present position. An engraving of the sixteenth century shows that it then stood in front of the Palazzo Vecchio. Its transfer to the arcade of the Loggia is due to a circumstance of historic interest. It was executed in the first instance for the Medici Palace, and when Pietro de' Medici was expelled it was placed at the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio and the following inscription carved upon the pedestal: "Exemplum Sal. pub. cives posuere, 1495." In 1504 it was replaced by Michael Angelo's "David," and subsequently transported to its present position, which, according to Gualandi, the



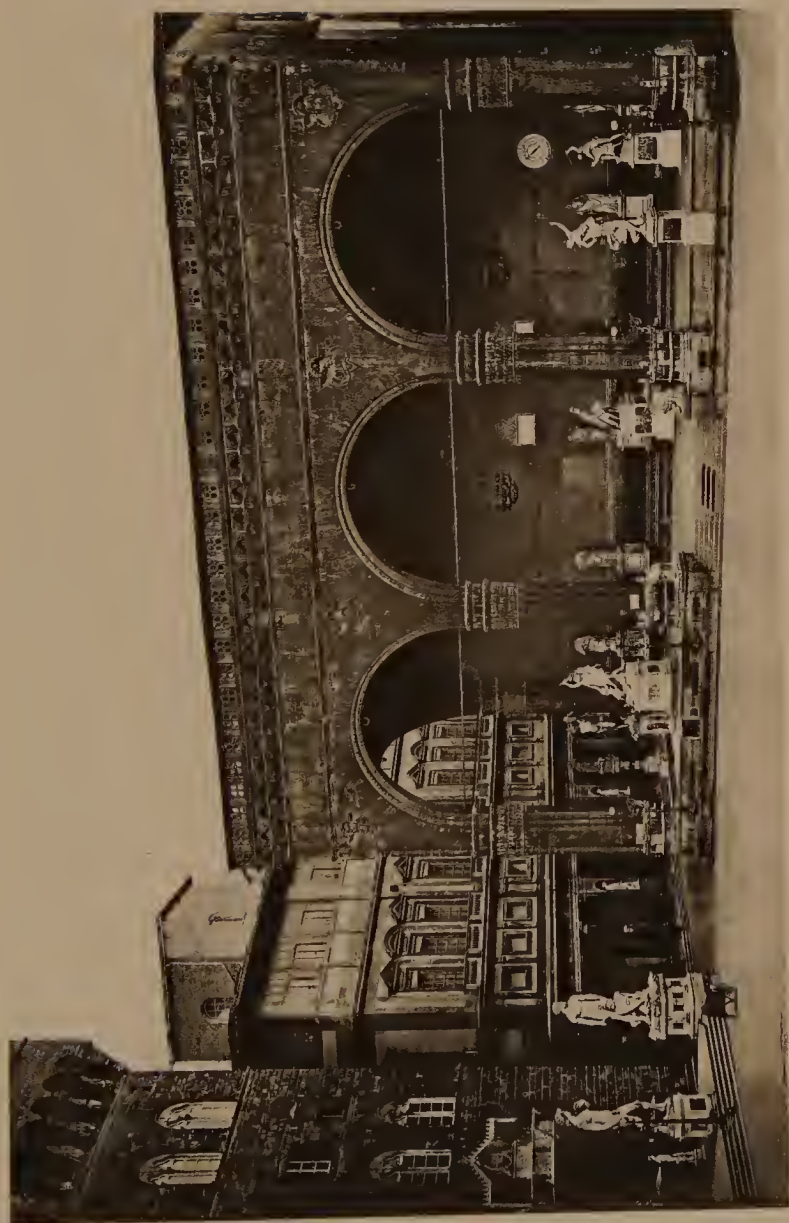
Bologna art critic, it has occupied for nearly four centuries.

The two colossal marble lions which stand at the foot of the staircase have only been there since 1780; one of them is very ancient, while the other is by Flaminio Vacca.

"The Rape of the Sabines," a superb composition by Giovanni da Bologna, which stands out finely against the architectural background, was not originally intended to represent that subject. Francesco de' Medici requested that the artist should call it "The Rape of Andromeda by Phineus," but Borghini, the learned critic, suggested "The Rape of the Sabines" as more appropriate, and Giovanni represented that historical episode upon the base of the pedestal. He was eminently fitted for the work of decorating spacious buildings of this kind, and among his other compositions is "Hercules slaying the centaur Nessus," carved from a single block of marble, and remarkable for the precision of the anatomy and the life-like attitude of the two figures. This group was not specially intended for the place it occupies, but it forms a fitting pendant to "The Ajax and Patroclus," a restoration of a Greek sculpture placed there by the architect Poccianti.

Last of all comes the masterpiece of Benvenuto Cellini, a bronze statue representing Perseus, which has all the characteristics of the eccentric genius by whom it was cast. Perseus is represented as having







just severed Medusa's head from the trunk, which is writhing beneath his feet, while he, with a calm air of triumph, holds up the head with one hand, his sword grasped in the other. The base is ornamented with a series of bas-reliefs, the four sides containing niches, in which are small allegorical statues. There are few more interesting stories than that in which Benvenuto himself relates how the east of the statue was made. The Loggia, as it now stands, occupies a page in the history of Florentine art, which, instead of lying hidden in museums and galleries, is spread out in the full light of day, beneath the blue canopy of heaven, and with a whole population to admire its beauties.

#### PIAZZA E CHIESA SANTA MARIA NOVELLA.

Pucellai, about 1469, instructed Leo Battista Alberti to design a grand façade for the church of Santa Maria Novella. The square, upon which one now comes upon issuing from the cloister, was then the largest in Florence, even worse off for open spaces in the time of the Medici than it is now. In 1331 a decree had been issued for the laying out of this piazza, and thirteen years later, when Peter Martyr was delivering a series of sermons against an heretical sect called the Paterini, it was still further enlarged.

As all the inhabitants of Florence were very fond of festivals and sight-seeing, an open space of this

kind was indispensable ; and when in after-years the Grand Duke Cosimo got up tournaments, jousts, and so forth, it was there that the chariot races, with their four colors of green, red, sky-blue and white, were held. The prize was a piece of crimson cloth, and seats were erected all round the amphitheatre for the populace. At first some wooden pyramids served as goals for the competitors, but in 1608 Giovanni da Bologna erected the two small obelisks in Seravezza marble, resting on tortoises and surmounted by bronze lilies.

The church is very famous in Florence, and with its agglomeration of monastic buildings and cloisters is one of the most interesting in the city. In 1221 the Dominicans took possession of the ancient sanctuary, and began building a new church. Two of their order, Fra Ristoro and Fra Sixtus, were appointed architects a number of years later, and the work was completed, as we see it now, in 1470. The low arcades on the right were used as tombs, beneath which the principal families living in the quarter were buried.

The interior is Gothic, and in the shape of a Latin cross, thus forming a marked contrast with the classical character of Alberti's façade. This church is as much a museum as it is a sanctuary, some of the greatest names in Italy being commemorated there. It contains the Rucellai and Strozzi Chapels, the tomb of the Beata Villana (1360), of G. B. Ricasoli,

of Bishop Alliotti, of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who died in Florence in 1440, and the mausoleum of Aldobrandini Cavalcanti. The tomb of Filippo Strozzi is by Benedetto da Maiano, but the balustrade of the organ loft by Baccio d'Agnolo has been sold to the South Kensington Museum.

The Ruccellai Chapel contains the celebrated *Madonna* by Cimabue, which is regarded as the starting-point of the Florentine school, and there are many other paintings of great importance in Santa Maria Novella, including two frescoes of "St. Philip Exorcising the Demon" and of "St. John the Evangelist Raising Drusiana to Life." But the artist who has done most for this church is Domenico Ghirlandajo, who was employed by Tornabuoni to paint in the choir a series of scenes from the lives of the Virgin and St. John Baptist in which appear likenesses of several members of his own family and of other illustrious persons of the day. Among them are Luca Pitti, Baldovinetti, Piero Tornabuoni, Cosimo son of Lorenzo, Bartolini, Salimbeni, Francesca Pitti, Politian, Marcilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Andrea de' Medici, and all the members of the Tornabuoni and Ridolfi families. At this period Michael Angelo was one of his pupils, and in the "Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth" he is said to have painted the man looking from a balcony in the distance.

The walls of the Strozzi Chapel are covered with frescoes by Filippino Lippi, and the cloisters are full

of most interesting works. In the Spanish Chapel Taddeo Gaddi and Memmi painted the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, and Memmi is believed to have introduced into his picture the leading men of his day. The subject of Gaddi's picture is St. Thomas Aquinas seated in a pulpit, surrounded by the Prophets, the Evangelists and the angelic host.\* The Great Cloister, as it is called, which communicates with this one, is the largest in Florence, and is decorated with paintings by various masters. It was a vast religious establishment, dispersed at the time of the Revolution, and founded in 1278, covering more than 200,000 feet of ground. There were the Pope's quarters and the Pope's chapel; and the refectory, built by Talenti in 1460, containing several paintings, including Allori's famous composition representing the miraculous supply of manna in the desert. The Spezeria of Santa Maria Novella still remains open. It is entered by a door on the Via Seala, and is celebrated for the liqueurs and perfumes prepared there.

Altogether Santa Maria Novella is a true sanctuary of art, the chapel of Ghirlandajo giving a better idea than any other place in Florence of the prolific genius of that day, while the compositions in the cloisters are worthy to be compared with those in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

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\* The authorship of these paintings is disputed.

## THE PIAZZA DELLA SANTISSIMA ANNUNZIATA.

This is one of the finest squares in Florence, surrounded by arcades and decorated with busts of the Medicean Grand Dukes. Approaching it from the south, there is a fine view of the church of the Annunziata, while to the right it is flanked by the Foundling Hospital, and to the left by the convent of the order of Servites. These buildings are all much in the same style. In the centre of the square is an equestrian statue of Ferdinand I. by John of Bologna, while to the right and left are two fountains by Pietro Tacca, in which monsters of the deep are in the act of vomiting water into bronze shells.

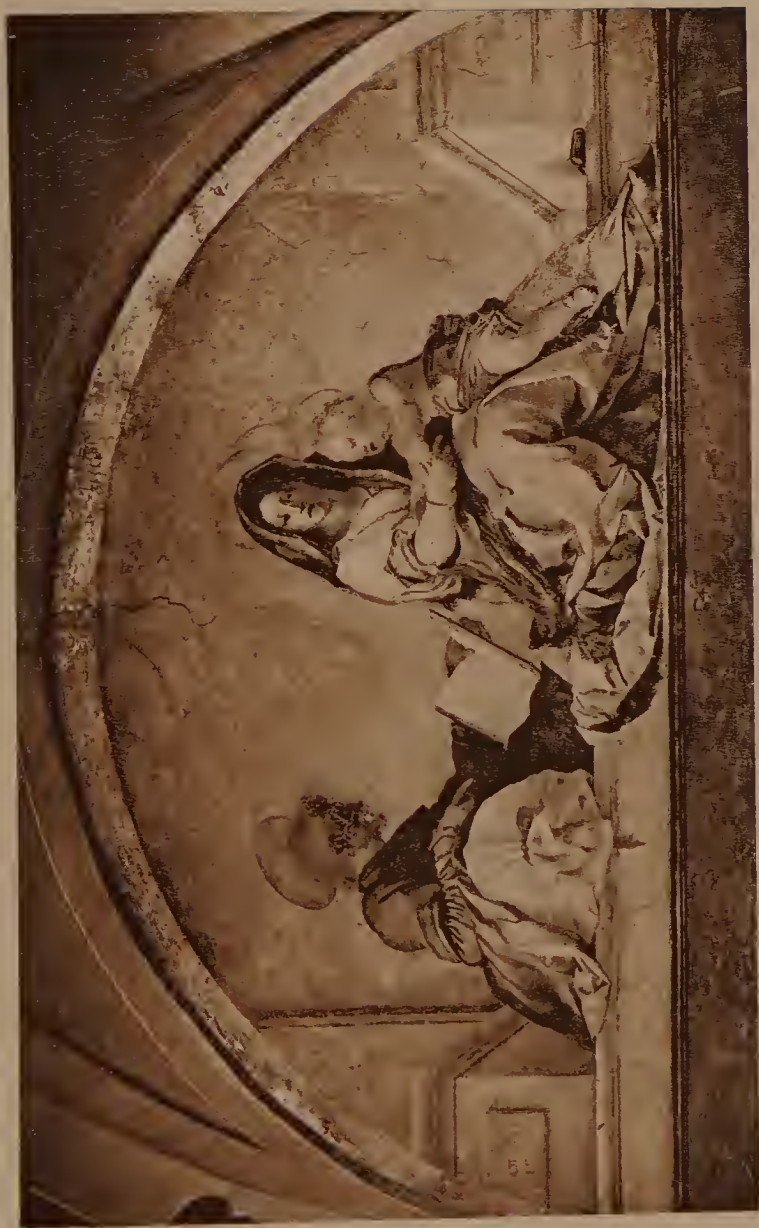
The statue was erected in 1608, the veteran sculptor being at that time eighty years of age, and the work was done by order of Ferdinand II., as a tribute to the memory of his predecessor, and also to commemorate the victory of the Knights of St. Stephen over the Turks, the cannon taken from the latter being used to make the statue, which bore the inscription, "Con la fusione dei metalli rapiti al fiero Trace." Ferdinand II. afterwards had the large bronze shield, with motto, "Majestate Tantum," semé of bees, let in at the base of the statue.

The portico of the church is of the Corinthian order, the central arcade having been built for Leo X., after the designs of A. da San Gallo, while the money for the other arcades was found by Alexander and Rob-



ert Pucci. The central door leads into the church, and opens upon the beautiful portico decorated by Andrea del Sarto; that to the left leads to the cloister, and thence to the church, through the door over which Del Sarto painted the famous "Madonna del Sacco." The door to the right opens into the chapel of St. Sebastian, with its tiny cupola which rises above the portico. This church is one of the marvels of Florence, and so many additions have been made to it of late that it is now resplendent with gold and precious marbles. Its thirty chapels were decorated by all the princes who succeeded one another in Tuscany, from the time of the first Medici down to the last representatives of their race.

The building of the Foundling Hospital was decided upon at the meeting of the Communal Council on the 25th of October, 1421, the mover of the resolution being Leonardo Bruni, who is buried in Santa Croce. When Filippo Brunelleschi, to whom the work was given, had to leave Florence on account of his previous engagements, he prepared the designs, and left his pupil, Francesco della Luna, to carry them out. This was much to be regretted, for the latter changed the lines of the edifice, and having once begun to make alterations, he did not know where to stop. The façade has a handsome portico with nine arcades, and in the spandrels may be noticed terra-cotta medallions representing infants in swaddling-clothes, as typical of the object of the building.





The frescoes are by Poccetti, an artist of some merit, and over the door leading from the court to the church is an Annunciation of the Virgin by Luca della Robbia.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SCULPTURE.

NICCOLÒ AND GIOVANNI PISANO.

(1205-1278.)

THERE can be no doubt that Tuscany was the cradle of the Renaissance of sculpture, for though the precedence has been claimed for Apulia, the works of sculpture which decorate the eleventh and twelfth century monuments in that part of Italy are more or less of a Saracenic or Byzantine type. Pisano, who may be regarded as the originator of Tuscan art, was not a native of Florence, and his place of birth is uncertain, though he is generally believed to have been born at Siena. He was a man of genius, in the full acceptation of the term, for he was the creator and founder of a great school. He at first devoted his attention to architecture, and at sixteen years of age followed the Emperor Frederick II. to Naples, where he is supposed to have remained twelve years, during which period he undoubtedly worked at the celebrated Castel dell' Ovo and the Castel Capuano. From Naples he went to Padua, where he is said to have superintended the building of the church erected in honor of San Antonio, the famous Santo of whom

the city of Padua is so proud, though there is no direct proof of his having taken part in this great work. From Padua he went to Lucca, where he first gave evidence of his skill as a sculptor, carving a "Descent from the Cross" for one of the side doors of the cathedral of San Martino. This work was in his early manner, the outcome of his natural acquirements and personal observations, and to this period doubtless belong the Madonna, the St. Dominic, and the Magdalene on the *Misericordia Vecchia* at Florence—this Madonna being the prototype of all the subsequent Madonnas of the Pisan School.

Henceforth his labors as an architect and sculptor were blended together, but it is difficult to assign an exact date to each of his works. He built the Santa Trinita Church at Florence—restored in 1593 by Buontalenti—San Domenico d'Arezzo, the Duomo at Volterra, the *Pieva*, and Santa Margherita at Cortona. In 1260, by which time his fame both as a sculptor and an architect was firmly established, he executed the beautiful pulpit in the Baptistery of Pisa, which may be regarded as one of those works which inspire a whole school. In this creation he shows the influence of the ancient sculptures which had come under his observation as, for instance, the sarcophagus containing the ashes of the wife of Boniface Marquis of Tuscany, and mother of the celebrated Countess Matilda who died in 1076. He also altered the accepted shape which had been adopted from the earliest ages

of Christianity, conforming himself, however, to the traditions of the Lombard Church, by letting the columns of the pulpit rest upon the backs of lions. As a proof of his having been in some measure inspired by antique art, the fact of his having taken from the Campo Santo of Pisa the bearded Bacchus of the Greek vase has often been mentioned by writers on this subject.

From Pisa Niccolò went to Bologna, where he fashioned the sarcophagus for the remains of San Domenico (the *Arca di San Domenico*), which is one of the marvels of that city. The ashes of the saint were placed in it on the 12th of June, 1267, as we know by the documents brought to light by Professor Bonaïni, but Niccolò had started the year before for Siena, where he arranged to carve the cathedral pulpit, leaving his pupil Guglielmo Agnelli to complete a few unfinished details. The pulpit at Siena was erected with the assistance of his son Giovanni, and of his pupils, Arnolfo di Cambio, Donato, and Lapo. It is octagon in shape, and rests upon nine columns. The upper part has six panels, filled in with bas-reliefs representing the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. The centre pillar is surrounded by allegorical figures, in semi-relief, of Astronomy, Grammar, Dialectics, Philosophy, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Music.

The frequent journeys of Pisano from town to town,



and the great works which he executed in each, naturally exercised no little influence upon art in the places which he visited, and at Siena more especially he acted as a pioneer for all the sculptors of a later date.

The name of Pisano is connected with one of the bloodiest episodes in the history of his time—the execution of Conradin, by order of Charles of Anjou, after the battle of Tagliacozzo—for he was employed to build an abbey and convent upon the battle-field, to receive the remains of the dead. There is not, however, a single stone of these buildings now standing, the name of Santa Maria della Vittoria, given to a neighboring church, alone remaining to indicate the spot.\*

In 1274 Pisano was at Perugia, where he erected the beautiful fountain which may be said to embody in its decorations the attributes of many of the cities which he had previously visited. This fountain comprises twenty-four statuettes attributed to Niccolò, fifty bas-reliefs done by his son Giovanni, and a basin from which springs a column bearing up a bronze *Tazza*, from which, in turn, springs another column surrounded by nymphs, and surmounted by the griffins of Perugia and a lion. The magistrates of Perugia set so much store by this fountain that severe

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\* A festival commemorative of the victory is held in this church every hundred years. See Perkins's *Hist. Hand-book of Italian Sculpture*. Note, p. 20.

edicts were issued to insure its preservation from damage.

Pisano was the founder of Tuscan sculpture, and exercised an influence, the extent of which cannot well be exaggerated, upon after generations. Perkins, in his "Tuscan Sculptors," well says of him, "Respected and esteemed by all, he is one of the truly great men to whom the whole world owes an undying debt of gratitude, and he stands out like a beacon light in the darkness of these five centuries. What Dante was to Italian literature, Niccolò Pisano was to Italian art."

#### ANDREA PISANO.

(1278-1349.)

Andrea was the son of Ugolino di Nino, and he studied under Giovanni Pisano, the son of Niccolò, acquiring the reputation of being the most skilful bronze-founder of his day. He was the maker of one of the bronze gates in the Baptistery at Florence, and the inscription, still legible, gives the date on which the bronze was cast: "Andreas Ugolini Nini de Pisis me fecit, A.D. MCCCXXX." But though the casting was made on this date, Andrea, assisted by Leonardo di Giovanni, spent nine years more upon the chasing and finishing. A hundred years later, Lorenzo Ghiberti, who wrought the famous Gate of Paradise, was employed to make the frieze which runs round the gate executed by An-

drea, and after his death in 1454 further additions were made to it by Pollaiuolo. There are altogether twenty panels, representing the principal incidents in the life of St. John the Baptist.

These gates were erected during the artist's lifetime at the principal entrance opposite the façade of the Duomo, and the Signoria came in procession from the Palazzo Vecchio when they were put into place, and conferred upon the maker the freedom of the city. Demonstrations of this kind are worth recording, for they excite a spirit of emulation among other nations, and lead to a further development of artistic progress.

Andrea was a friend of Giotto, and contributed to the decoration of the Campanile, for which he carved several of the bas-reliefs upon the lower story. He also executed some statues for the niches of the Duomo façade.

He was an architect as well, and fortified the Palazzo Vecchio for Gaultier de Brienne, who, however, failed to find it a secure refuge from the fury of the people. He also erected the Baptistery of Pistoia, and dying at Florence in 1345 was buried in the Cathedral. The development of the art of sculpture due to the genius of these men is indeed marvellous, for though in later times there has been more freedom of movement than the sculptors of the thirteenth century could boast of, their conceptions have never been outdone in point of boldness and con-

scious strength. There is a clear analogy between the bas-reliefs of the Campanile and those on the fountain at Perugia, their epic outline and symbolic expression lending to them characteristics of grandeur and simplicity worthy of the best epoch of ancient sculpture. It may be said, in fact, that there was more profundity of thought and geniality of conception with the Italian sculptors of the thirteenth than with those of the fifteenth century, though the latter excelled them in harmony and grace of outline.

#### ANDREA ORCAGNA.

(1328-1368.)

Although Andrea Orcagna, surnamed Cione after his father, Matteo Cione, has already been mentioned among the architects and painters of his day, his name cannot well be omitted from a chapter on sculpture. He was a goldsmith as well, and he was the maker of the original of the silver altar preserved in the treasury of the Duomo. This work, commenced in 1366, was destroyed in the course of some rebellion, but a new one was made, and a few parts of the original one let into it, by Ghiberti, Michelozzo, Pol-laiuolo, and Verrocchio.

His brother, who was a painter, helped him with the frescoes of Santa Maria Novella, and he then set to work upon the celebrated decorations of the Campo Santo, which have rendered his name so famous, "The Triumph of Death" and "The Last Judg-





ment.”\* He transformed, as described in a previous chapter, Or San Michele from a corn market into a sanctuary, and carved the Gothic shrine of white marble which illustrates the history of the Madonna.

He also is sometimes credited with being the architect of the Loggia dei Lanzi, and to all these gifts was added that of poetry, for he has left behind him many sonnets, and manuscripts of his are to be seen in the library of the Strozzi Palace and in the Magliabecchiana. There is some doubt as to whether he built the Certosa near Florence, though, as Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the founder, was a contemporary of his, it is generally supposed that he or one of his pupils should be credited with it. Orcagna was the last of the Pisano school, the members of which may very appropriately be classed with that of Florence, not merely because of the influence which they exercised upon art there, but because most of them were made citizens of Florence. And in classing them thus I am only following an example set by all historians of art, from Vasari down to Perkins.

#### JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA.

• (1374-1438.)

This artist was not a Florentine, though it is not too much to describe him as the forerunner of Michael Angelo. Born at Siena in 1374, he executed, when only nineteen years of age, the equestrian statue in

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\* See note to chapter on Orcagna on this subject.



wood of Azzo Ubaldini, the celebrated soldier. He left Siena when the city surrendered to Giovanni Galeas Visconti, and after earning a precarious livelihood for nine or ten years, he came to Florence, and took part in the competition organized by the Signoria for the Baptistery gates, coming out of it only second to Ghiberti and Brunelleschi. This proof of ability stood him in good stead, and he was employed to make the Porta dei Servi at Santa Maria del Fiore his handiwork being plainly discernible in the "Madonna della Cintola," over one of the side doors, and in the mystic "Mandorla," with angels as supporters.

From Florence Jacopo repaired to Ferrara, where he executed the tomb of Verà, afterwards transferred by Annibale Bentivoglio to the church of San Giovanni Maggiore at Bologna. While at Ferrara he received an application to erect the fountain (1409-1419) upon the grand piazza at Siena, and "La Fonte Gaza," as it is called, is as celebrated as that erected by Pisano at Perugia, though it is of such singular construction that it is more like a water-tower than a fountain. This work was in such a dilapidated state that the municipality of Siena has recently had it restored, and the work, so far as it has gone, has been very conscientiously done.

Only a small fragment of the tomb erected by Jacopo in the cathedral of Lucca to Ilaria, the second wife of Paolo Guinigi, the signor of the city, is still extant, the remainder having been destroyed when

Paolo was dethroned; and the best specimen of his talent is to be seen in the decoration of the grand portal of the basilica of San Petronius at Bologna, with its fifteen bas-reliefs, which undoubtedly influenced Michael Angelo; as may be seen by comparing certain parts of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel with the portal of San Petronius.

Jacopo della Quercia returned to Siena, in accordance with the contract he had signed for two bas-reliefs for the Baptistry; he passed the last three years of his life there, dying in that city on the 20th of October, 1438.

#### LORENZO Ghiberti.

(1378-1455.)

The son of Cione di Ser Buonaccorso, born at Florence in 1378, bears one of the most popular names in the history of Florentine art, thanks to the *Porte del Paradiso* of the Baptistry, and an adequate biography of him would occupy a volume in itself.

He served his apprenticeship as a goldsmith under Bartolo di Michieli, who was his mother's second husband. In 1399 he went to Rimini, and attracted the notice of Carlo Malatesta, the uncle of Sigismundi, by some frescoes he executed in the palace; but on hearing of the competition for the Baptistry gates he at once returned to Florence, and, as previously explained, was successful against such rivals as Brunelleschi and Quercia.

Ghiberti took twenty years to complete this work, though he had twenty assistants in the moulding and casting, among them being Donatello and Paolo Uccello. In 1424 the gates were placed in the position previously occupied by those of Andrea Pisano, just opposite the entrance to the Duomo, and the church-wardens of Santa Maria immediately commissioned him to make the second gates, for which Leonardo Bruni Aretino, the Secretary of the R<sup>e</sup>public, was requested to select the subjects. Ghiberti began these gates when quite a young man, and when they were finished he was seventy-four years old. It should be added, however, that he had undertaken several other works in the interval, including the St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Stephen at Or San Michele. He also left behind him bas-reliefs for the Baptistery font at Siena, funeral slabs at Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, and the bronze shrine of San Zenobio, executed in 1446 for the Duomo at Florence.

Ghiberti left a diary, from which it is clear that many of his works have disappeared, and this may be regarded as a sort of poetical justice; for, as already mentioned in the sketch of Brunelleschi, he acted in anything but an honorable way towards the latter when they were both engaged upon the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore.

Ghiberti was pre-eminently a painter and goldsmith, for in sculpture he attempted too much; and

instead of being content with the resources of an art which, from the very nature of the materials employed, is limited, he abused it by trying to obtain all the variety of a picture. The result arrived at is remarkable, beyond all doubt, but the principle itself is false, for it is unreasonable to ask from a material more than it is capable of giving. Even in the gates—which are the creation of a goldsmith rather than of a sculptor—he has represented the sky and passing clouds; and there is an anecdote told of a very competent judge of sculpture, who, passing in front of the Baptistery gate, said, “There is the man who has ruined sculpture.” The judgment was a severe one, but it expresses, if in an exaggerated form, a true canon of art.

Ghiberti was less at home in the carving of statues than in fashioning shrines, mitres, and other ecclesiastical objects which he executed for the pontiffs. The complete list of his works is as follows: At the age of two-and-twenty he was at Rimini, where he did several enamels and frescoes for Carlo Malatesta. He commenced the Baptistery gates in 1403, and continued at work upon them for twenty years. In 1414 he cast the statue of St. John for Or San Michele, and in 1417 we find him at Siena, executing two bas-reliefs for the font, which, however, were not completed until 1427, and then at Rome, where he made a mitre and some other things for Pope Martin V. In 1419 he did the statue of St. Matthew for Or San Michele,

and in 1424 he finished the first of the Baptistery gates, having between-whiles erected the tomb of Fra Leonardo di Stagio Dati.

Three years after this he erected the tomb of Lodovico degli Obizzi, and in the same year he began the second of the Baptistery gates. He did not, however, confine his attention to them alone, executing concurrently the tomb of Bartolommeo Valori, the two bas-reliefs of the Siena Baptistery, the shrine of San Zenobio, another shrine for Saints Proto, Giacinto, and Nimesio, and a mitre for Pope Eugenius IV. In 1452 he completed his second pair of Baptistery gates, and on the 1st of November, 1455, he died and was buried at Santa Croce.

#### DONATELLO.

(1386-1466.)

Donatello, son of Niccolò di Betto Bardi, was born at Florence in 1386, and, with the exception of Michael Angelo, may be considered the greatest of Florentine sculptors. He was a Tuscan to the core, as upright in his private life as he was gifted in his calling. Thoroughly grounded in the study of the antique, which he held in the deepest veneration, he at the same time succeeded in maintaining his own personal characteristics; and though some of his works, notably a patera in bronze, forming part of the Martelli Collection in the South Kensington Museum, might be mistaken for some relic of ancient

Greece at first sight, they have a distinctive impress which could only have been given them by a Florentine artist like him. I have dwelt at length more than once before upon the dramatic and splendid talents of Donatello, but he possesses a power and a nobility which cannot be too highly eulogized, his gifts only stopping short of the very highest genius. His works are almost infinite in their variety, and he may be classed with Dante and Machiavelli as among the most characteristic representatives of the genius of Florence. He was a man of culture and of letters, with a more extensive knowledge than the other great stone-carvers of his day; and he was a general favorite with his brother artists, living under the same roof with Michelozzo, and sharing his labors. The story of how he assisted Nanni di Banco at Or San Michele was told in the preceding chapter; but it may be added that he was beloved by his pupils, for one of whom, Simone Ghini, he made a journey to Rome for the express purpose of assisting him to cast the bronze slab for the tomb of Martin V.

The great charm of Donatello is that his works appeal to the heart and feelings as much as they charm the eye. Few have possessed to an equal degree the knowledge of how to obtain desired effects. A statue by him, which looked at in the studio appears monstrous and ill-proportioned, is the perfection of shape and outline when stood in the place for which it is intended.



Donatello was thoroughly versed in the science of practical perspective as applied to buildings. The famous bas-reliefs of the Bargello, intended for the balustrade of the organ-loft in the Duomo, the beauty of which cannot be fully appreciated when seen out of their place on a level with the eye, are a good instance of his perfect knowledge of the effect of height and distance. The bas-reliefs of the outer pulpit of the Prato Cathedral, from which the girdle of the Virgin is exhibited, afford another instance of this. There is an elasticity of movement and a vivacity about the gambols of the children which recall the words of Horace, "*Nunc pede libero, pulsanda tellus.*" Donatello, in order to protect these bas-reliefs from possible injury, kept their level below that of the surrounding mouldings. In examining this pulpit it is best first to consider it as a whole, and then to take the separate details.

So varied and vast was Donatello's work that the mere list of his sculptures in San Antonio at Padua, with his equestrian statue of Gattamelata, forms a whole volume—compiled by Herr Bode, Curator of the Berlin Museum—and is a very interesting contribution to the history of art in Italy.

At seventeen years of age he went to Rome, being already an artist of some note, as he had been consulted by the Signoria on some questions of importance. He assisted Brunelleschi in several excavations, and it was at his instigation in later years that



Cosimo the Elder formed a collection of antiquities. He spent several years at Rome, and one of his first works, on returning to his native city, was the "Annunciation of the Virgin" in the Cavalcanti Chapel of Santa Croce. There is much grace and nobility about this work, which is quite in his early manner, like the "St. Mark" in Or San Michele. The "St. Peter" was of a later date (1411), and was executed about five years before the splendid statue of St. George.

It was between the years 1425 and 1427 that he executed the tomb of John XXIII. in the Baptistery of Florence (referred to in the chapter on the Medici), but he did not remain all the time in Florence, as in 1426 he erected the tombs of Cardinal Brancacci in the church of San Angelo at Naples, and of Bartolommeo Aragazzi at Montepulciano. At the end of 1427 he went to Siena, and did a bronze bas-relief for the font in the Baptistery; and letters dated 1433 speak of him as being at Rome, where he was consulted about the tomb of Martin V. The pulpit of the Prato Cathedral dates from 1434, and there is nothing to show that he left Florence for the next ten years, where he was busily engaged upon statues for the Campanile, bas-reliefs for the balustrade of the organ-loft, the statue of "David," and a number of bas-reliefs, statues, terra-cotta busts, and bronzes, now disseminated among the various collections of Europe.

He devoted twelve years of hard work to the church of San Antonio of Padua and the statue of Gattamelata on the Piazza, which was the first equestrian statue cast in Italy in modern times.\* In 1444 we find him at Ferrara, to which he paid several visits, and it was about this time that he made an agreement to erect a bronze statue of Borso d'Este, though nothing ever came of it. The proof of his having been at Venice is to be found in the beautiful wooden statue of St. John over one of the altars of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. In 1456 and 1457 he was at Faenza, and this was his last excursion from Florence. On his return he modelled the niche at Or San Michele, in which was placed the group of "The Doubting Apostle" by Verrocchio; and I must also mention among his other works the "Entombment," at South Kensington; the "St. Sebastian," belonging to M. E. André, of Paris; the bronzes presented to the Louvre by M. His de la Salle, and those in the Berlin Museum; to say nothing of private collections. The "St. John" in the Duomo at Siena was also his handiwork, and the last few years of his life were devoted to the church of San Lorenzo, which was the Pantheon of the Medici family, for which he did the Four Evangelists in stucco, several busts of saints, the small bronze door

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\* Equestrian statues of Tommaso and Bonifazio degli Obizzi had been erected at Lucca in the fourteenth century. See Perkins's *Historical Hand-book of Italian Sculpture*, p. 103.

near the altar of the sacristy, and the two bronze pulpits, which latter were, however, completed by his pupil Bertoldo after his death. Signs of decrepitude are to be observed in his last work, the statue of St. Louis of Toulouse, which formerly appeared above the porch of Santa Croce. He died of an attack of paralysis on the 13th of March, 1466, after one of the most enviable careers in the history of art, and at his own special request was buried in San Lorenzo, by the side of his protectors and friends of the Medici family.

#### MICHELOZZO MICHELOZZI.

(1391-1472.)

As a sculptor Michelozzi was worthy to be compared with his master, Donatello, but it was as an architect that he was best known in Florence. He was born in that city about 1391, his father being a tailor; and he was destined, in conjunction with Brunelleschi and Leo Battista Alberti, to make a fresh departure in architecture, after having linked his name with that of Donatello in the execution of some of the great works which the latter was then engaged upon.

He had the honor of being selected by Cosimo the Elder to build the family palace, now called Riccardi, though one would have thought that the Florentines would have restored the original name. It was there that Cosimo assembled the works which he had purchased on the advice of Donatello, but these collec-

tions were dispersed when the French entered the city under Charles VIII. During Cosimo's temporary exile from Florence, Michelozzi, his intimate friend, followed him to Venice, and it was during that time that he built for the convent of San Giorgio Maggiore a splendid library, and did several pieces of work for the churches. At Milan he built the Vismara Palace, the magnificent gate of which has been removed to the Brera Palace. Returning to Florence with his master, he restored the Palazzo Vecchio, built the villa of Careggi, the favorite residence of the Medici, those of Caffagiolo and Mozzi, and enlarged and rebuilt the convent of San Marco.

A fitting pendant to the Riccardi Palace would be the Strozzi Palace, but it is so badly situated in a narrow street that it is impossible to obtain a satisfactory view of it, but this is of all the less consequence, as the two buildings have much in common. The Strozzi Palace, however, can boast of the magnificent Corinthian cornice which has immortalized the name of Simone Pollaiuolo, surnamed *Il Cronaca*, who repeated at Siena the design which he had taken originally from the fragment of an ancient cornice found lying among the ruins of the Roman Forum.

The lanterns, or "*fanali*," of the Strozzi Palace also deserve notice. The artist who made them was named Niccolò Grossi; and Lorenzo de' Medici, who would often stop at the smithy in which he worked, had nicknamed him "*Caparra*," because he always

insisted upon being paid in advance. These iron lanterns at the corner of the palaces, like the rings for holding torches on fête-days, were only allowed to the most distinguished citizens, and for this reason those who had the privilege of displaying them endeavored to make them as costly and beautiful as possible. The Strozzi key, in the collection of Baron de Rothschild, was at one time regarded as another perfect specimen of his art; but according to recent investigations it has been found to be the work of a French artist.

The Pandolfini, like the Medici Palace, is typical of its kind. Instead of being built like most of the houses in the fifteenth century, so as to resist attack, it partakes of the character of the Florentine palace of the sixteenth century. Raphael is said to have prepared the designs for it in 1520, the building itself being erected by G. F. da San Gallo and Aristotile, by whom it was not completed until 1620.

Michelozzi is less known as a sculptor than as an architect, though he has left a silver statuette of St. John the Baptist on the Baptistery altar at Florence, and a statue of Faith on the monument of Pope John.

Apart from its architectural interest, the Riccardi Palace, sold in 1659 by the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. de' Medici to the Marquis Gabbriello Riccardi for 241,000 lire, contains many works of art of the highest value, including the famous fresco by Benozzo

Gozzoli in the chapel. This work is not only of intrinsic value, but is interesting from the fact that it gives the portraits of many of the most celebrated personages of the day, including the Medici themselves, and the friends with whom they were wont to converse in the Ruccellai Gardens. The *Riccardiana*, or private library of the Riccardi family, now belonging to the city, contains twenty-four thousand volumes, among them being three thousand six hundred priceless manuscripts, and six hundred editions dating from the first invention of printing.

It was in this palace that Lorenzo the Magnificent was born, and that he presided over the meetings of learned men who formed the Academy. Michael Angelo added the windows under what was formerly a loggia. In the large guard-room is a collection of bas-reliefs, fragments of ancient sculpture, sarcophagi, capitals, and inscriptions, which make a museum in themselves, placed here by the Marquis Riccardi. If this palace possessed no other charm, the chapel, with its fresco by Gozzoli, would suffice to make it one of the most attractive buildings in Florence.

#### DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO.

(1428-1464.)

Desiderio was the son of a stone-cutter of Settignano, and it is only quite recently that his name has become famous out of Italy, it may even be said, out of Florence. In the early part of this century his



works were confounded with those of Donatello and other celebrities of the day, but his abilities are now fully recognized, and it is seen that he possessed that tender suavity so often the gift of those who are destined to die young.

Vasari himself knew so little about him that he is all at sea in the dates given in his biography, and yet this artist produced one of the most beautiful works of which Florence, rich as she is in masterpieces of art, can boast. Here and there may be seen in private collections a Madonna or a Predella by him, and he was also the artificer of a beautifully carved statuette of the Infant Jesus in the church of San Lorenzo, while a Magdalen in San Trinita is also believed to be by him.

But if not many great works can be attributed to Desiderio, the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini (see the chapter on Illustrious Florentines) in Santa Croce, opposite the Cavalcanti Chapel, in which his master, Donatello, carved his first bas-relief, is sufficient to keep his memory alive. The defunct Secretary of the Republic is represented in a recumbent position on a couch, clasping a book to his breast. On each side of the richly decorated sarcophagus stands a naked child holding a shield. The base of the tomb is beautifully carved, while the upper part forms a lunette crowned by a vase, with graceful figures holding heavy festoons, which fall down on either side. Although the entire surface is covered with



ornamentation the exquisite delicacy of the work causes it to be in very good taste; and I know of no tombs in Florence which can be compared to it, except those of Leonardo Bruni and of Cardinal Portogallo, which have a greater variety of ornament, but are not so chaste. Desiderio's bust of Beatrice d'Este is in the Louvre, and Baron Adolphe de Rothschild has a beautiful Madonna by him.

The bust of Marietta Strozzi is also a masterpiece of sculpture; everything in fact by this artist should be jealously preserved, for nothing can exceed the suavity of expression and the charm with which he invested his creations—notably in the case of the two children holding shields at the foot of Marsuppini's tomb. Desiderio, who died in 1464, only thirty-six years of age, is buried in San Piero Maggiore at Florence, and his worth was evidently appreciated during his lifetime, as a pompous epitaph, according to the custom of the age, was prepared, stating that "Nature, aggrieved at finding in him her superior, had cut the thread of his days. But the act of vengeance was in vain, for he had immortalized the marble, and the marble had immortalized him."

#### VERROCCHIO.

(1435-1488.)

Andrea di Micheli di Francesco Cione, born at Florence in 1435, has rendered famous the hitherto obscure name of Messer Giuliano Verrocchio, the goldsmith to whom as a boy he was apprenticed. It

frequently happened that artists of the fifteenth century took the names of their masters, or rather were given them by the apprentices of other masters, so that when they attained celebrity they still continued to be known by the borrowed name.

Verrocchio was a very talented sculptor, and as, unlike most of the pupils of Donatello, he retained a personality or style of his own, it was for a long time doubted whether he had studied under that master at all. As a goldsmith, he displayed great refinement and imaginative power, but though he executed a great many works for Sixtus IV., most of them, including twelve statuettes of the apostles, chasuble clasps, incense-burners, vases, etc., have been destroyed or stolen, and the only one which can give any idea of his talent is the fragment of the silver altar already described as part of the Duomo treasure. Baron Adolphe de Rothschild has in his possession part of the clay maquette for the bas-relief to the extreme right of this altar.

Verrocchio was a painter as well, and several galleries contain religious pictures by him, though the only one in Florence is the "Baptism of Christ," in the Academy. This is not a work of any great merit, but Vasari states that Leonardo da Vinci, then only a lad, and a pupil of Verrocchio, painted it "an angel with golden hair," which was so much better than the rest of the composition that Verrocchio resolved forthwith to give up painting.

He also made the group known as "The Incredulity of St. Thomas" for the principal façade of Or San Michele, and the tomb referred to in the biography of Piero de' Medici was also executed by him in 1472. Another work attributed to him is the equestrian statue of Colleoni at Venice, which is even superior to that of Gattamelata at Siena for force of expression and fire. Bartolommeo Colleoni, Captain-General of the armies of the Venetian Republic, died at Bergamo, bequeathing to the State his arms, horses, furniture, silver plate, and a sum of 216,000 florins, upon the condition that a statue should be raised to his memory. Verrocchio, being the most celebrated sculptor in Italy, was applied to, and he had already completed the model of the horse when he was told that the rider was to be done by one Bellano of Padua. He was so indignant that he broke the legs and head of his cast, and returned to Florence. The Senate of Venice sentenced him to death should he ever again set foot on Venetian territory, but Verrocchio, from the security of his native town, laughed at the decree, observing that if he was put to death Venice would be the loser, because, while the Senate could not bring him to life again, he could put another head and new legs to the statue. The Senate in the end annulled the sentence, and gave Verrocchio a higher salary; but he had hardly recommenced the work when he died after a brief illness. Upon opening his will it was found to contain a clause in which he asked

that Lorenzo di Credi might be allowed to finish the horse. But the Senate intrusted the work to Alessandro Leopardi, whose name will be found inscribed across the lower girth :—" A. Leopardi, F."

It is an open question whether Leopardi merely carried out the designs left behind by Verrocchio, or whether he executed the whole work upon a plan of his own. The letter "F" after his signature may signify "Fudet" (he cast it), as well as "Fecit" (he made it), and though the work is spoken of as the "Colleoni by Verrocchio," there are some strong presumptions in Leopardi's favor. Verrocchio, who was goldsmith, professor of perspective, engraver, sculptor, and musician, left behind him other works instinct with vigor and grace, chief among which may be mentioned the boy playing with a dolphin, originally ordered for the Careggi Gardens by Lorenzo de' Medici.

The Bargello now contains his statue of "David," which, meagre as it is in outline, is very correct in regard to anatomy. There is much originality about this work, down even to the belt which the vanquisher of Goliath has round the waist. It may be said of Verrocchio, in short, that he was a great and original artist, endowed with a very supple talent, and with high qualities in every branch of his profession.

#### LUCA DELLA ROBBIA.

(1400-1482.)

Luca della Robbia was the founder of a school and member of a family devoted to art. Engaged as

they were in sculpture and majolica-work, there always has been and always will be a great deal of uncertainty as to the particular achievements of himself, his nephew Andrea, and his four sons, Giovanni, Girolamo, Luca, and Ambrogio.

Although Luca proved himself to be a sculptor of great ability, he is principally known to posterity as the inventor of enamelled pottery; and as he was the first to discover, or rather to apply, this beautiful process of decoration, all the works of this kind dating from the fifteenth century are attributed to him. The process, however, was known long before his day, as it was in use among the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Arabs, the Persians, the Moors, and the Greeks, and it cannot have been unknown to the Italians of the thirteenth century, for there is in existence a treatise entitled "*Maravita Preeiosa*," dating from 1330, which is full of details on this subject, and of various specimens of early works, which M. Eugène Piot has published, with plates and illustrations in his "*Cabinet de l'Amateur*."

It was towards the close of his life that Luca, after a long course of experiments, made a practical application of his process upon the splendid tomb of Benozzo Federighi Bishop of Fiesole, in the church of St. Francesco di Paolo, at the foot of the Bello Sguardo, employing painted potteries, previously baked in the oven and covered with enamel. At first he used a pure white enamel, which covered the surface with a

transparent coat of protecting varnish. Afterwards he had recourse to a blue shade for the backgrounds, and a light green shade for the soil, the plants, and the accessories. His nephew Andrea assisted him in his decorative work, and they continued their experiments, adopting one shade after another, and gradually arriving at those general combinations which may be seen upon the friezes, altars, spandrels, arches, and walls of convents and churches.

Much as has been written about the Robbia family, it is impossible to define precisely what share of the work was done by its head, but as he lived to the age of eighty-two, and was a man of extraordinary activity, it must have been large. At the same time, when it is remembered that six of the Robbias were actively employed for over a century, and that two of them were named Luca, it is impossible to speak with any confidence on the subject. Still there are many pieces of enamel at Florence known to be by him, notably the exquisite lavatory in the sacristy of Santa Maria Novella, all the medallions in the Foundling Hospital on the square of the Annunziata, the arms and insignia let into the façade of Or San Michele, some of the medallions in the Loggia di San Paolo in the Piazza of S. Maria Novella, and a number of works collected in the Bargello.

As high a testimonial as any to his skill as a sculptor may be found in the splendid series of *alti-relievi* ordered for the balustrade of one of the organ-lofts of



the Duomo, as a pendant to those by Donatello. This was deservedly the most popular of his works, for though it has not the fire and bold character of Donatello's composition, it is of matchless elegance, and well balanced in design. There are a great number of Madonnas by Luca in private museums all over Europe, but the finest are in the South Kensington Museum, the Louvre, and Berlin. Luca died in 1482, leaving the secret of his method to his nephew and his nephew's four sons. The most striking specimen of Robbia-ware is in the Ceppo Hospital at Pistoia, in the frieze representing the Seven Acts of Mercy, which cost Andrea and his son Luca II. eleven years of labor. Girolamo introduced this mode of decoration into France, and there was a fine specimen of it in the Château de Madrid, just outside Paris, but it has been entirely destroyed. Some of the fragments are now in the Cluny Museum.

#### THE ROSSELLINI.

(1409-1478?)

There were five sculptors of the name of Rossellino, all born in Florence—Bernardo, Domenico, Maso, Giovanni, and Antonio. They were all sons of Domenico del Borro, surnamed Gambarelli, and Bernardo and Antonio were the two most famous. The first-named spent nearly the whole of his life at Rome, where he held the appointment of Director of Public Works under Nicholas V., but he is so far







connected with Florence that he erected the splendid tomb of Leonardo Bruni Aretino in Santa Croce, described in a preceding chapter.

Antonio, his brother, was surnamed *Del Proconsolo*, after the district of Florence in which he was born; and there can be no doubt as to his having been a pupil of Donatello. His greatest work was the tomb of Cardinal da Portogallo for the church of San Miniato. This prelate belonged to the house of Braganza, and had acquired such a reputation for piety while studying at Perugia, that he was raised to the purple at the early age of six-and-twenty. Though a Portuguese by birth, he was in the service of the Florentine Republic, which employed him as ambassador to the most Catholic King. He died when only twenty-nine; and as he had founded a chapel at San Miniato, he stipulated that his body should be buried there. The tomb which Antonio erected represents the marble figure of the young cardinal, with two children and two kneeling angels holding in their hands the emblems of victory. The medallion above, upon a blue background, is singularly graceful; it has a style of its own, distinct from that either of Desiderio or Verrocchio, and is evidently the work of an original artist able to maintain his own characteristics at a time when Donatello was being universally followed.

The church of Monte Oliveto at Naples contains another funeral monument by Antonio Rossellino,

ereected by the Duke of Amalfi to his wife, Maria of Aragon. It is almost an exact replica of the one at San Miniato, with the addition of a superb bas-relief representing the Nativity of our Lord. For the same church he carved a "Resurrection," which is remarkable for the number of the figures, the simplicity of their features, and the softness of their expression.

If he takes after any one in sculpture, it is Ghiberti, from whom he evidently derived the art of so arranging his distances as to be able to graduate his figures as in a picture, though it is fair to add that he did not carry this process to an exaggerated degree.

Bernardo, born in 1409, died in 1472, and his brother Antonio, born in 1427, died about 1478.

#### BENEDETTO DA MAIANO.

(1442-1497.)

The Maiani form another dynasty of artists, architects, and sculptors. There were three brothers, sons of Antonio da Maiano, a Florentine stone-cutter. Two of them, Giuliano and Benedetto, became famous, while the third, Giovanni, having less talent than the others, is but little known. Benedetto commenced his career in Hungary, at the Court of Matthias Corvinus, a liberal patron of art and literature, and at first devoted himself to the art of *Intarsiatura*, or the inlaying of wood of different colors, which was in great vogue during the fifteenth century. But he

soon sought a wider scope for his talents, and as sculptor and architect rapidly acquired considerable celebrity at Florence, his greatest work being the Strozzi Palace, commenced in 1489, in the style of architecture introduced by Brunelleschi and Michelozzo Michelozzi. Filippo Strozzi began the building, and his son, also named Filippo, completed it; but the works were for a long time suspended, and, as Il Cronaca came back from Rome just as they were about to be resumed, he was asked to take charge, and designed the part facing the interior courtyard, as well as the beautiful cornice crowning the whole, which can only be equalled by that of the Farnese Palace at Rome.

An intimate friendship must have existed between the elder Strozzi and Benedetto, for the latter became sculptor for the whole family, and was the author of those beautiful marble and terra-cotta busts of Filippo Strozzi surnamed the Elder to distinguish him from his son, who came to such a tragic end, which were so eagerly bid for by all the museums of Europe when they were lately put on the market, and were finally purchased by the Louvre.

Filippo the Elder married Clarissa, daughter of Pietro de' Medici, and falling under suspicion when his father-in-law was exiled, he, devoted friend of freedom as he was, would not take part with either side, and died at Florence in complete retirement, having directed Benedetto to erect him a tomb in

Santa Maria Novella. The sarcophagus, very simple in design, stands under a recess, with two angels' figures holding up a tablet. Benedetto had not much scope for his fancy here, but in the space above the recess he carved what is generally considered as his greatest work—a Madonna and Child, very similar in outline to the medallions upon the tombs of Rossellino, Desiderio, and Verrocchio, and superior to them in the studied refinement of the modelling. Benedetto also left a medallion of Filippo Strozzi, a replica of the bust which formerly stood here.

His son, Filippo the Younger, who had emigrated during the reign of Alessandro de' Medici, came to a tragic end. When Lorenzino had murdered Duke Alessandro, he repaired to Venice and induced Filippo to join the *Fuorusciti*. But Cosimo, son of Giovanni, who had been chosen as Alessandro's successor, sent Vitelli against the rebels, who were defeated by him at the battle of Montemurlo. Filippo and Piero Strozzi fought desperately, but the former was taken prisoner and immured in the "Fortezza da Basso." This, curiously enough, was the fortress which Pope Clement VII. hesitated about building, but which he at last agreed to do at the earnest request of Filippo Strozzi, and against the advice of Salviati, who remarked that he might perhaps "be digging his own grave."

The sinister prediction was verified to the letter. It is said that the examining magistrate endeavored to

extract from him a confession that he had been implicated in the murder of Alessandro, and that, though innocent of that crime, he was so fearful of the consequences that he committed suicide. It has been questioned more than once whether he had enough energy to destroy himself, and the Marquis del Vasto, governor of the fortress, has been mentioned as his murderer. There is a letter, however, extant which Luciano Scarabelli has published, and which is said to have been found by his side in the prison.

“To God the Deliverer.

“In order that I may not remain in the hands of my enemies, who have unjustly tortured me, and in order that I may not be constrained by the violence of fresh tortures to say anything which can affect the honor of myself, my relatives and friends, as happened the other day to the hapless Giuliano Gondi, I, Filippo Strozzi, have resolved, at whatever cost, to end my days. I humbly commend my soul to the infinite mercy of God, and I implore Him to receive me in the place allotted to Cato and other virtuous men who have taken their own lives. I beg the governor of the Castle, Don Giovanni di Luna, to take a little of my blood after death, and send it to His Eminence Cardinal Cibo, in order that this latter may feast his eyes on it. He has now no obstacle to prevent his reaching the Papal chair, to which he has so shamelessly aspired. I beg him to have me buried



at Santa Maria Novella, by the side of my wife—if Cibo deems me worthy to be buried in consecrated ground. I beg my relatives to respect the will which I have made in prison, and which is in the hands of Benvenuto Olivieri, excepting these. . . . Don Giovanni is to be repaid all the expenses he has incurred for me, as I have never reimbursed him for anything.

“And you, Cæsar, let me beg of you to keep better watch over the interests of unhappy Florence, and to have more care for them, unless you have resolved to bring her altogether to ruin.

“Philippus Strozza Jam Jam Moriturus.”

“*Exoriare Aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*”

Returning to the Maiani, it may be added of Benedetto that he also did a good deal of work at Naples, where his brother Giuliano had been employed by the Duke of Calabria upon the church of Monte Oliveto, in which Antonio Rossellino erected the funeral monument to the Duchess of Amalfi. He also carved the altar of San Savino at Faenza, his greatest work, so far as regards the number of figures and bas-reliefs. From Faenza he returned to Florence, where he was employed by Pietro Mellini to erect a marble pulpit in Santa Croce, the celebrated “Pulpito” in the nave, with a staircase cut into one of the pillars. Added to this is the tomb of San Bartolo in the Church of St. Augustine at San Gemignano, and a retable for the Santa Fena Chapel in the

cathedral at the same place ; while among the many busts by him is one of Giotto in Santa Maria del Fiore, and another of Squarcialupo upon the tomb which Lorenzo de' Medici raised in the same church to the memory of that great musician.

#### MINO DA FIESOLE.

(1431-1484.)

Mino da Fiesole must have derived his second name from the fact of having bought a residence at Fiesole, for he was a native of Poppi, in the Casentino, and his name appears upon the lists of the Corporation of Stone-hewers.

He acquired a reputation for originality of style as a sculptor, but his manner was always the same, and he was chiefly notable for tenderness and refinement of treatment. His work cannot be fully appreciated when seen from a distance ; one must examine it, and note the delicate reproduction of the lines and wrinkles, the living look of the eyes and of the expression. One of the best specimens of his manner is the bas-relief opposite the tomb of Bishop Salutati in the cathedral at Fiesole. This retablo is divided into three compartments : in the centre the Madonna upon her knees with the Child and St. John, and on either side San Lorenzo and San Remigius. Upon the entablature is a bust of our Lord, but this is too realistic in character, and the best figure in the group is that of the Infant Savior stretching out his

hand to St. John, Mino da Fiesole being unrivalled in depicting children at play.

The retablo of San Ambrogia is of the same date, and the church of the *Badia* contains two fine tombs by the same master—those of Count Ugo and of Bernardo Giugni, both of which are evidently inspired by the tombs in Santa Croce.

Two other works known to be by him are the very poor bas-reliefs on the pulpit of the Prato Cathedral, executed in 1473, just before his third visit to Rome. One of his greatest works, a monument erected to Pope Paul II. by his nephew Cardinal Barbo, in the church of St. Peter, disappeared when that ancient basilica was demolished, but a few fragments of it may still be seen in the crypt.

At Santa Maria in Trastevere is the “Opus Mini,” a very elaborate shrine, a replica of which was done by him for the sacristy of Santa Croce at Florence. There are many other works which have been attributed to him at Rome, but which, though not unlike his productions, were probably executed by pupils.

Such, for instance, are the Borgia altar at Santa Maria del Popolo, the Riario tomb in the church of the Holy Apostles, the Sarelli tomb at Ara Cœli, and that of Francesco Tornabuoni in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. There is a bust of Piero il Gottoso by him, and several of his busts are in Paris collections, while the retablo in the Baglioni Chapel in the church of S. Pietro in Cassinese at Perugia is very

similar in character to that of Santa Maria in Trastevere.

Mino died in 1484 from the effects, it is said, of having attempted to move a heavy block of marble in his studio.

#### ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO.

(1429-1498.)

There was, as with several of the artists already referred to, a whole family of architects, sculptors, and goldsmiths bearing the same name. The most celebrated of them, Antonio, is credited with most of the famous works executed by any Pollaiuolo. Next to Antonio in point of celebrity came his brother Piero, his cousin Simone (surnamed *Il Cronaca*), and the latter's brother Matteo, who was a pupil of Antonio Rossellino, and who died in the prime of life. According to contemporary writers, the word Pollaiuolo was indicative of the trade of poultry-rearing followed by the father, whose proper name was Jacopo di Giovanni Benci.

Antonio, who was a pupil of Ghiberti's step-father, assisted Vittorio, Ghiberti's son, in decorating the lintels of Andrea Pisano's bronze gate of the Baptistery. It was he who carved the quail fluttering among the foliage which is invariably pointed out to visitors by the guides.

He also did the bas-relief of the "Banquet" and "The Dance of Herodias" for the silver altar front in the Duomo treasure, working at the outset of his

career as a goldsmith and niellist. Antonio Pollaiuolo also distinguished himself as an engraver, his "Combat of Ten Naked Men" being well known. He was an able sculptor as well, having erected at Rome the tomb of Sixtus IV., and that of Innocent VIII. in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, which contains the "Moses" of Michael Angelo. He did not leave many paintings, but a great many bronze plaquettes, which are to be found in modern collections, reproduce compositions of which he was the author. The National Gallery possesses four of his pictures: the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," painted for the Pulci Chapel in San Sebastiano dei Servi at Florence; a "Virgin in the act of Adoration," formerly the property of the Contugi family at Volterra; the "Angel Raphael accompanying Tobias," from the collection of Count Galli Tassi at Florence; and an "Apollo and Daphne," from the collection of Mr. W. Coningham. The Uffizi Gallery itself has not so many of his pictures, though there is one remarkable portrait of a warrior arrayed in armor, very similar in character to the piece of sculpture in the Bargello.

The same museum contains the bronze relief of the Crucifixion, which is attributed to him, but which is more probably by Agostino di Duccio.

In 1484 Antonio went to Rome, at the request of Pope Innocent VIII., to execute the works already referred to. He died there in 1498, and was buried in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli.

Highly as his works are now appreciated, there is a good deal of exaggeration about his style, which is far removed from the grace and simplicity of Desiderio, Maiano, and the Rossellini. Hitherto artists had paid more attention to the idea than to the mere execution of it; when the conception was thoroughly mastered it was comparatively easy to put it into tangible shape. But form and execution gradually came to be thought more of than the idea, and art was beginning to decay when the genius of Michael Angelo dawned upon the world.

Before speaking of that great master a brief notice may be given of the last artists belonging to the close of the fifteenth century. Among them were Andrea di Piero Ferucci (1465-1526), who began the tomb of Antonio Strozzi in Sta. Maria Novella, and erected that of Marcilio Ficino in the Duomo; Francesco Ferucci, surnamed Cecca del Tadda, who was a very skilful worker of porphyry, and the carver of a statue of Justice upon a column in the Piazza della Santa Trinita; and Baccio Sinibaldi da Montelupo (1469-1535), the author of a bronze statue of St. John the Evangelist at Or San Michele, and possibly of a statue of Mars on the tomb of Benedetto Pesaro, in the Frari Church at Venice.

ANDREA CONTUCCI (SANSOVINO).

(1460-1529.)

Andrea Contucci del Monte San Savino (1460-1529), architect and sculptor, visited Spain and Por-



tugal, and there are a statue of St. Mark and a bronze bas-relief executed by him at Coimbra. He carved the baptismal font in the Baptistery at Volterra, a Madonna and Child for the Cathedral at Genoa, and the group representing the Baptism of Christ over one of the gates of the Florence Baptistery, with the exception of the angel, which is said to be by Spinazzi. At Rome Contucci erected the tombs of Cardinal G. B. della Rovere and Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza, behind the high altar in Santa Maria del Popolo, the various portions of which, examined apart, are very handsome, but which as a whole are wanting in harmony.

From Rome Contucci went to Loretto, where he carved the bas-reliefs on the temple enclosing the Santa Casa, which, interesting as they are, cannot be compared with the work of some of the sculptors of the early Renaissance.

Another Florentine, JACOPO DI ANTONIO TATTI (1477–1570), took the name of his master Sansovino, and became famous in Venice as Sansovino.

Then we have GIULIANO DA SAN GALLO (1445–1516), and FRANCESCO DA SAN GALLO (1493–1570). The first named was the sculptor of Sassetti's tomb in Santa Trinita, under the fresco by Ghirlandajo; while the second was the author of the statue of the Bishop of Cortona, in the middle of the pavement of one of the chapels at the Certosa of the Val d'Emo; of the group of the Virgin and Child and St. Anne in Or



San Michele; of the tomb of Bishop Angelo Marzi, on the steps of the altar of the Annunziata; of the statue of Paolo Giovio at the entrance to the basilica of San Lorenzo from the cloister; and of the monument to Piero de' Medici in the convent of Monte Casino. This latter artist was unquestionably much influenced in his style by Michael Angelo, as may be seen by comparing his work with that of the master.

BENEDETTO DA ROVEZZANO (1474–1550) erected the monuments of Piero Soderini in the Carmine Church, and of Oddo Altoviti in that of the SS. Apostoli. His tomb of San Gualberto was broken to pieces during the siege of 1530 in the sculptor's studio, all that remain being the reliefs now in the Bargello. Strange as it may seem, he was the sculptor of Lord Nelson's tomb, who died nearly three hundred years afterwards. Rovezzano went to England to erect a tomb for Cardinal Wolsey, which was afterwards selected by King Charles I. for his own burial-place. After his execution Parliament had the bronzes melted down and preserved the sarcophagus, which, a century and a half later, was by royal decree utilized for the interment of Nelson.

The last sculptor of this period was TORRIGIANO (1472–1522), who was a soldier of fortune, and who became notorious by breaking the nose of Michael Angelo in a studio quarrel. He executed different works at Rome, the tomb of Henry VIII. in Westminster Abbey, and afterwards resided in Spain,

where he left behind him several works in terracotta, dying at Seville in 1522. According to tradition, he broke to pieces a statue for which one of his employers refused to pay what he deemed a fair price, and the latter, by way of vengeance, denounced him to the Inquisition as having laid sacrilegious hands upon the holy images. This story is declared by Quilliet to be untrue, but in any event Torrigiano has acquired by his attack on Michael Angelo a notoriety which his works, able as some of them are, would not have won for him.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI.

(1475-1564.)

Just when Florentine art was losing the towering figures which had asserted its supremacy throughout Europe, Michael Angelo was born (March 6, 1475) in the castle of Chiusi e Caprese, in the Casentino, of which place his father was Podestà. He came to Florence while quite a lad, and, like his friend Granacci the painter, entered the studio of Domenico Ghirlandajo. His first work was a picture in distemper—now the property of Lady Taunton—of a Virgin and Child, with St. John and Angels, which in its unfinished state betrays the influence of Ghirlandajo.

His earliest efforts were encouraged by Lorenzo the Magnificent, who gave him the run of his collections in order that he might copy from the antique; and when that prince happened to see one day the





head of a faun, now in the Uffizi, and ascertained that it was his own drawing, he invited him to reside in the Medici Palace. There he lived in the society of the most notable men of the day. Politian suggested to him the idea of "The Combat of Centaurs," now to be seen in the Casa Buonarrotti. The death of Lorenzo was a cruel blow to the young sculptor, and it is said that when it occurred he abandoned his work and spent several days in a sort of lethargy.

Pietro de' Medici showed him equal favor, but he missed that polished and brilliant society in which the most learned men of the day had discussed the loftiest and most recondite questions. Wishing to remain neutral in the struggle about to break out between the people and the family of his patrons, Michael Angelo determined to quit Florence, and accordingly repaired to Venice just before the entrance of Charles VIII. From Venice, where there is no trace of his presence, he went to Bologna, where he executed the statue of an angel kneeling, holding a candelabrum, before the altar of the shrine of San Domenico. At Bologna he pursued his studies, and copied the bas-reliefs of Jacopo della Quercia on the portal of San Petronius; these drawings he afterwards used for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

Sketching only the main outlines of his mighty career, we find that from Bologna he returned to Florence, where he enjoyed the patronage of Lorenzo, son of Piero Francesco of the younger Medici branch,

and did the statue of Cupid, which was sold to the Cardinal di San Giorgio as a work of antiquity after being hidden in the ground and dugged up again. He went to Rome about the matter of the Cupid, where he executed another one—now in the South Kensington Museum—and a statue of Bacchus for a Roman gentleman named Jacopo Gallo. He was then one-and-twenty, and from this period dates his beautiful Pietà, now in St. Peter's, to which he appended his name because he heard some one remark that it was by Cristoforo Solari.

His first stay at Rome was not a very long one, and when he returned to Florence he signed an agreement with Cardinal Piccolomini for some very extensive works, which do not appear to have been executed, as no trace of them is to be found. It was about this time (1503) that he utilized the large block of Carrara marble which the building committee of the Duomo had on hand, and which he converted into the beautiful statue of David, afterwards placed on the Ringhiera of the Palazzo della Signoria. The "Madonna and Child," now in the Bargello, dates from the same period, as does the "Holy Family" in the Tribuna, a harsh and unpleasing picture, which has doubtless been spoilt by the ravages of time.

The celebrated cartoon of the "Battle of Pisa," now entirely destroyed, but which contemporary chroniclers describe in such glowing terms, also dates from about the same period.

His fame as an artist was growing greater every day, and Pope Julius II. invited him to come and plan the mausoleum which he contemplated erecting during his lifetime in St. Peter's. After a good deal of discussion as to the best site it was decided to pull down the venerable basilica of St. Peter's and rebuild it. Michael Angelo prepared a very ambitious plan, included in it being the erection of no fewer than forty statues. The Pope was so anxious to see the work begun that he sent him to Carrara to superintend the cutting out of the marbles, and here he remained six months. Upon his return he fitted up a studio near the Vatican, and the Pope, who had a temporary bridge made leading from his apartments to this studio, often came to see how the work progressed. It was here that he made the rough sketches for his "Moses" in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, his "Two Prisoners," and the statue of Victory for the tomb of Julius. When he had been nine months at this work the Pope changed his mind, and upon his asking for payment he was so rudely treated by the officials that he wrote to the Pope, "Driven out of your palace this morning by the express orders of your Holiness, I take the liberty of saying that if you happen to require me at any future time, you will have to look for me elsewhere than at Rome." This was no idle threat, as he set out forthwith for Florence, and though messengers on horseback were sent after him refused to return. Upon his



arrival at Florence three official requests were addressed to the Signoria, asking them to compel him to come back, and the Florentines were afraid that the Pope, who was then marching at the head of his army against Bologna and Perugia in revolt, would declare war against the city. Michael Angelo was thinking of starting for Constantinople, as the Sultan had asked him to come and throw a bridge from the suburbs of Pera to the opposite shore of the Bosphorus; but just then the Pope entered Bologna, and sent the Cardinal Legate to the Signoria with power to negotiate for the great artist's return. An interview between the Pope and the sculptor then followed, and it was during this interview that the former vented his displeasure upon one of the Monsignori, who, without meaning any harm, remarked that Michael Angelo had erred through ignorance, "because men of that sort do not understand anything outside their calling." The outcome of the reconciliation was the erection of the bronze statue of the Pope on the Piazza of Bologna, the sculptor obeying the Pope's behest to "put a sword, not a book, in my hand, for I have no pretensions to learning." This statue was destroyed by the populace when Bentivoglio was restored by the French troops.

It was Julius II., also, who conceived the idea of having the Sistine Chapel decorated with frescoes, though Michael Angelo insisted that he was a good sculptor, but a poor painter. Nevertheless, this work,

which he brought to a conclusion in two years, has immortalized his name as a painter. With little regard to method, and devoting his whole attention to the conception and form of the work, he succeeded in achieving a masterpiece that may, without exaggeration, be termed sublime. It is said that being unacquainted with the material processes of fresco painting, he sent for some very skilful artists from Siena, and having mastered their secret, shut himself up, and would not allow even the Pope to see what he was doing until All Saints' Day, 1509, when the work being half completed Julius was admitted to judge of the effect and was struck dumb with wonder and admiration. The chapel, commenced in 1508, was not open to the public until 1513, when the Pope died, although it had been completed the previous year.

When Leo X. succeeded Julius II. he determined to complete the basilica of San Lorenzo at Florence, where his ancestors (the Medici) were interred, and Michael Angelo was obliged to spend five years of his life in tedious exile at Carrara, procuring the necessary marbles for the façade; his design having been accepted from among a number that were submitted for this work, which after all was never executed.

From time to time, as the opportunity presented itself, he went on with the tomb of Julius II., which was evidently his favorite enterprise. The reign of Adrian VI., who had no liking for literature or art,

enabled him to work at it for a whole year ; but when Clement VII. (Giuliano de' Medici) succeeded Adrian, he led a very hard and feverish life, so numerous were the engagements forced upon him. Upon the one hand, the executors pressed him to finish the tomb of Julius II., while upon the other, Clement VII. insisted upon employing him upon the Medici chapel at San Lorenzo.

Amid these conflicting calls upon his time he painted the "Three Fates," now in the Pitti Palace, which is one of the few easel pictures by him. He graphically describes the life which he led at this period in a letter to Messer Luigi del Riccio, who had acted as the agent of the Pope in these contracts. He says, "Painting, sculpture, fatigue, and honesty have done for me, and things are as bad as they well can be. I should have done much better if I had started in life as a vendor of matches" (Zolfanelli). He speaks of himself as being a very martyr, and says that he is "stoned every day, as if I had crucified our Lord." The monument was finally completed in a very different manner from that originally intended, only one statue, the Moscs, is by Michael Angelo himself, and two of the others are from designs of his. "The Prisoners," now in the Louvre, was also intended for this tomb.

The two tombs in the new sacristy of San Lorenzo, which Clement VII. ordered in 1525 for the remains of his two relatives, Giuliano, Duc de Nemours, and

Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, were executed with more dispatch, though it took twelve years to complete the whole work, for during that period Florence was besieged by Charles V., and Michael Angelo laid down the chisel to fortify the slopes of San Miniato.

When Florence was taken Michael Angelo had to fly from the vengeance of the Pope, but as no one else was capable of going on with the work in San Lorenzo, he was eventually pardoned, and returned to complete the two tombs. Upon either side of the sarcophagus of Giuliano he placed the two gigantic figures known as Day and Night, while by the side of the sarcophagus of Lorenzo, surnamed *Il Pensiero*, on account of its thoughtful attitude, he placed the figures of Dawn and Twilight. Opposite the altar is a "Madonna and Child," quite after the manner of Michael Angelo, and grandiose in design.

The tomb of the Medici was not finished when Michael Angelo, on Christmas Day, 1541, disclosed to view the grand fresco of the "Last Judgment," "filling the world with stupor and admiration," to use Vasari's phrase.

It was at this period of his life that Michael Angelo, then sixty-four years of age, fell deeply in love with the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Anna de Montefeltro, married to Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, who died in 1525 of wounds received at the battle of Pavia. Her influence upon him was very

great, for, he writes, "I cannot turn my eyes away from hers : I see in them the light which guides me towards God." He lived for nine years in her society, burning with a spiritual passion which recalls that of Dante for Beatrice. When she died he was present to imprint a kiss upon the cold hand. In a subsequent sonnet he expresses his regret at not having kissed her forehead.

He was at this time—about 1547—busily engaged upon the dome of St. Peter's, which, as he had resolved when he saw Brunelleschi's work, equalled that of Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence.

This great sculptor, painter, architect, and poet died at the age of nearly ninety, and his remains were claimed by Florence, as he had expressed a desire to be buried in Santa Croce. Pope Pius IV. was also anxious to raise a tomb worthy of him in St. Peter's, and the Florentines were compelled to smuggle his body out of Rome in a bale of goods, as had been done by the Venetians with the body of St. Mark at Constantinople.

The funeral ceremony was a splendid one, the whole of Florence defiling past his coffin. Benedetto Varchi pronounced the funeral oration, and his tomb was erected by Vasari, who, however, was not equal to the occasion. It must be said that his influence was almost as a matter of necessity prejudicial to those who came after him, for, in attempting to imitate his originality of style, they only succeeded in bringing

into relief what may be termed its defects, exaggerating his eccentricities of posture and attitude. Florentine art could still, however, boast of several men of talent, such as Montelupo, Simone Mosca, Lorenzetto, and Montorsoli, followed by Baccio Bandinelli, Tribolo, and Giovanni da Bologna, though the name of Michael Angelo stands out in the sixteenth century as an exception recalling the galaxy of genius which had illumined the fifteenth century.

RAFFAELLO SINIBALDI DA MONTELUPO, who was born in 1505, and who died at Orvieto in 1567, was one of the best pupils of Michael Angelo, who allowed him to do some of the statues for the tomb of Julius II., including those of Leah, Rachel, one of the Prophets, and a Sibyl. He was an architect as well, and held the position of architect of the castle of St. Angelo—for which he also executed a marble angel, now placed inside the building—and assisted in the erection of the dome at Orvieto.

LORENZO DEL CAMPANARO, surnamed Lorenzetto, born June 13, 1490, and died in 1541, left but few traces behind him, his principal works being part of the tomb of Cardinal Portiguerra in the cathedral of Pistoia, and the statues of "Jonas" and "Elias" in the Chigi Chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome. The first is generally attributed to Raphael, but the truth is that he merely designed, or at most modelled, it, and that Lorenzetto carried it out. This happened often with statues which are attributed to Michael



Angelo, though it must be added that the general outline of a statue is the primary condition of success in sculpture, and that the hand which carries it into execution is of only secondary importance.

SIMONE MOSCA, a somewhat inferior artist, worked in Sansovino's studio with Il Tribolo. He was about the same age as Michael Angelo, but he died before him, his principal works being the decorations of the Cesia Chapel at Santa Maria della Pace at Rome, and those of the Magi Chapel in the Orvieto Cathedral. Another of his pupils, surnamed *Il Moschino*, executed for this same chapel a group representing God the Father surrounded by angels, a Visitation, and a San Sebastian of no little beauty.

FRA GIOVANNI ANGIOLO MONTORSOLI is the most celebrated of Michael Angelo's pupils next to Montelupo, and the great artist was five-and-forty years of age when he came to study under him at St. Peter's, having been grounded in his profession by Andrea Ferrucci. Michael Angelo employed him prior to 1527 in the new sacristy of San Lorenzo at Florence, and he was again with him from 1531 to 1534, having a share in the erection of the tombs of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. He also travelled to France, where François I. was endeavoring to attract Italian artists and founding the Fontainebleau School, which gave such a great impulse to the Renaissance. For the Annunziata at Florence he executed for the Painters' Chapel the stucco decora-



tions, notable among which are the figures of Moses and St. Paul. He left works behind him at Genoa, Bologna, Messina, Arezzo, and Naples. At Genoa there is a colossal statue of Jupiter by him in Prince Doria's villa, and several marble and plaster statues in the church of St. Matthew, which are more or less an exaggeration of Michael Angelo's style. The celebrated fountain at Messina, erected in the piazza, is his work; after completing it he returned to Florence and finished the Capella dei Pittori in the church of SS. Annunziata. It was there that he was buried on the 1st of September, 1563, his funeral oration being pronounced by Michael Angelo.

#### BENVENUTO CELLINI.

(1500-1571.)

There is not a more remarkable figure in the history of Italian art than the exuberant, hardy, and brilliant sculptor and goldsmith whose career, resembling rather that of a condottiere than of an artist, has been related with such a mixture of cynicism and candor by himself. Not shrinking from crime in moments of passion, he was at times accessible to the promptings of generosity, and the verdict of posterity has not been altogether an unfavorable one.

Born during the reign of Cosimo I., who was a warm patron of art, his father, Giovanni Cellini, intended him to be a musician. But having at an early age developed a preference for the plastic

arts, he entered the studio of Antonio di Sandro. Involved in a *baruffa*, he fled to Siena, and thence to Bologna, returned to Florence for a short time, and then spent a year at Pisa. In 1518 Torrigiano, who had broken Michael Angelo's nose in a quarrel, offered to take him to England. He preferred, however, to go to Rome with a wood-carver named Tasso. His life from this point may be divided into three distinct periods—Rome, Paris, and Florence. At Rome, where he spent twenty-two years, partly in the service of Clement VII., he distinguished himself by the execution of many little masterpieces of goldsmith's work, such as salt-cellar, candelabra, diamond settings, gold medallions worn in head-dresses, and coins for the Pope. The elasp of a cope for Julius II. is described in detail in his Memoirs; the Pope paid him 36,000 ducats for it, his only rival in this kind of work being Caradosso of Milan.

Benvenuto was present at the sack of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon in 1527, and according to his account he took an active part in the defence, commanding the artillery in the castle of St. Angelo, and discharging the gun which killed the Cardinal himself and wounded the Prince of Orange, though this latter statement is not generally believed. He should have assisted at the siege of Florence, for Orazio Baglioni, who was in command of the defending forces, appointed him captain, but he fled to Rome and accepted employment under Clement VII. He

remained in Rome during the reign of Paul III., but having stabbed the goldsmith Pompeo in a fit of passion, he had to fly. The Pope, however, overlooked the crime in consideration of his great talents, but the tragic occurrence had brought him into such disfavor that he resolved to go to France. Reaching Lyons by way of Switzerland, François I. was glad to employ him, but falling ill, he returned once more to Rome, where he was accused of having made way with some of the jewels of the Holy See, whose settings he had melted down by order of Pope Clement VII. Though the charge was not proved, he was none the less detained for two years in the castle of St. Angelo, during which period, according to his own account, he became pious and even ascetic. He was finally pardoned through the influence of Cardinal Hippolytus of Este.

At the urgent request of François I. he came back to France, and from this period date those beautiful jewels, now in the Apollo Gallery of the Louvre. The French king, of whom he has left a medallion, gave him, for a residence, the Hôtel du Petit-Nesle, then occupied by Provost Jean d'Estouteville, and containing at the time a distillery, a printing-office, and a saltpetre manufactory. Benvenuto's description of how he took possession of it forms one of the most curious chapters in his memoirs. The provost refused to leave, and Benvenuto, always ready for a fight, armed his workmen and his two pupils,

Ascanio and Paolo Romano, and laid siege to it. Among the besieged persons was a favorite of the Duchesse d'Etampes, who espoused his quarrel, and appealed to the King for justice. A lawsuit ensued, but Cellini, without waiting for a legal decision, attacked his adversaries with the sword.

François I. was an enthusiastic admirer of Cellini, and it was in France that he executed his first important piece of sculpture. This was at Fontainebleau, where he represented over the grand entrance the "Fountain of Pure Water," a nymph crowned with fruits floating upon the water, her left arm encircling the neck of an antlered stag, while the right hand rests upon a vase from which flows a stream of water, at which wild boar, deer, and hounds are drinking.

This work, which is not up to the standard of his ability, was presented to Diane de Poitiers by Henry II. after the King's death, and she had it placed above the gateway of the Château d'Anet, whence it was removed by M. Lenoir, at the time of the Revolution, to the Museum of the Augustins, and thence to the Renaissance Rooms in the Louvre.

The Ambras Collection at Vienna contains the celebrated salt-cellar executed for Cardinal Hippolytus of Este, and presented by him to François I., being afterwards given by Charles IX. to the Archduke Ferdinand, uncle of his betrothed, the daughter of Maximilian III.

Cellini had another outburst of temper at Fontaine-





bleau, where François I. asked both him and Primaticcio to prepare plans of a fountain for the gardens of a château ; and when the latter was entrusted with the work, Cellini threatened to "kill him like a dog." François I. once more overlooked the offence, but he did not make any resistance to his departure when Cardinal da Ferrara sent for him.

Cellini now proceeded to Poggio a Cajano, and presented himself to Cosimo de' Medici. He was kindly received, and told to prepare the model for a statue of Perseus, to be placed in the Loggia dei Lanzi (see the chapter on Architecture).

The account of how the statue was cast is well worth reading in Cellini's Memoirs, and the work, as already described, is the personification of a certain epoch of the Renaissance. Cellini had trouble in obtaining sufficient money to complete the group, and was involved in constant quarrels with Bandinelli, and Rocci the Duke's Majordomo. It is wonderful that one so impulsive and irritable should have had the patience to write his Memoirs as well as treatises on sculpture and goldsmiths' work. These two treatises are interesting, inasmuch as they explain to us the methods which were in use at the time ; but the Memoirs, in spite of their obvious exaggeration, are much more valuable for the light they throw upon the manners and customs of the artists of the Renaissance. This work has all the charm of a sensational novel, being a strange mixture of enthusiasm, ro-



mance, shrewd maxims, and precepts of art as professed by a great artist, interwoven with a tissue of adventures worthy of some bravo of the sixteenth century. It is infinitely superior to Bonaccorso Pitti's chronicles, and though the style is faulty, it gives a vivid and fascinating picture of the existence led by these adventurous men of genius.

He was not destitute of generosity and gratitude, recognizing the superiority of Michael Angelo and Caradosso, and adopting the six children of his widowed sister, Liberata Tassi. He was a poet, too, and wrote several sonnets, madrigals, sacred hymns, love sonnets, and satires.

He fell ill in December, 1570, and died on the 13th of the following February, leaving his fortune to his wife and three children. He was honored with a public funeral, and buried in the vaults of the SS. Annunziata, under the chapter-house.

It has been the custom to regard Benvenuto as only a skilful goldsmith who had a talent for combining gold with enamel and precious stones, and of so producing very tasteful compositions, but he possessed genuine ability as a sculptor, and only needed an opportunity to show of what he was capable.

#### BACCIO BANDINELLI.

(1493-1560.)

Baccio was, like Cellini, a pupil of the goldsmith Michael Angelo di Viviano, and if all that his contem-

poraries said of him was true, he must have been a man of very contemptible character. All his works were spoken slightly of by them, and even the most celebrated of his statues met with a hostile reception, due more probably to the unpopularity of the artist than to the indifference of the works themselves.

Baccio, however, enjoyed the favor of Cosimo I., and throughout the whole of his career he was employed by the Medici. Benvenuto Cellini was one of his bitterest enemies, and the Grand Duke derived great amusement from letting the two artists attack one another in his presence, and exhaust the vocabulary of the fish market. It is absurd, however, to accuse Bandinelli of having destroyed Michael Angelo's great cartoon of the Pisan war, for we may be sure that if there had been any ground for such a charge Cellini would not have failed to mention it in his Memoirs. His chief fault was his vanity, and his arrogant assertion that the only artist who could come up to him was Michael Angelo, has gone much against him with posterity.

The story of his group of "Hercules and Cacus," on the Piazza della Signoria, as told by Cellini, is very amusing. The latter criticized it in the following terms in presence of the Grand Duke and of Bandinelli, to whom he said, "If your Hercules had his hair cropped he would not have skull enough left to hold the brain. One cannot tell whether his face is that of a man or a monster, for he is half lion and

half ox. His heavy shoulders remind one of the two panniers of a donkey's pack-saddle. His chest and muscles are copied, not from human nature, but from a bag of bad melons." But, in spite of all criticisms, Baccio was concerned in the principal works of art executed during that period. He was the author of the copy of the "Laocoon" in the Uffizi, which was executed for François I., but which the latter exchanged with the Pope for several antique statues. At Santa Maria sopra Minerva, at Rome, he erected the tombs of Pope Clement VII. and Leo X., orders obtained through the influence of the Medici. He also executed a statue of Giovanni de' Medici, surnamed delle Bande Nere. And there are a number of his works in Santa Croce, the Cathedral, and the Palazzo Vecchio. Held in too high esteem by Cosimo de' Medici, and underrated by posterity, the impartial critic must strike the happy mean.

BARTOLOMMEO AMMANATI.

(1511-1592.)

This artist was at one time a pupil of Bandinelli, but unable to put up with his violent behavior, he went to study under Jacopo Sansovino at Venice, where he imbibed many of the principles of the Venetian school, as may be gathered from his different compositions. He was one of Sansovino's assistants in the decorations of the Library of St. Mark, which is one of the most beautiful monuments in Venice,

and there he had for comrades Cataneo and Alessandro Vittoria. Upon his return from Venice, his first great work was the tomb of Duke Francesco Maria, which has disappeared from the Santa Chiara Church at Urbino in which it formerly stood. He also erected in the Eremitani at Padua a very complex and elaborate monument to a professor of jurisprudence, one Marco di Mantova Benavides, a wealthy amateur of art who, during his lifetime, resided in a splendid palace, the entrance to which was under a triumphal arch erected by Ammanati, who also executed a Hercules twenty-five feet high for the Cortile.

Summoned to Rome at the instance of Michael Angelo, whose engagements were then very numerous, Ammanati received the order for the tomb of Antonio de' Monti and his father at San Pietro in Montorio. He also was the sculptor of the celebrated fountain at Pratolino, and of the colossal group of Hercules and Antæus at Castello. His most important work as a sculptor was the fountain at the corner of the Ducal Palace, with the figure of Neptune in a car drawn by sea-horses, looking down upon a number of mythological figures in bronze. This fountain, very pleasing to the eye, but devoid of all pretensions to classical outline, was erected by him after the work had been competed for; Benvenuto Cellini and Giovanni da Bologna being among the unsuccessful competitors.

It is, however, as an architect that Ammanati has the highest claims to the admiration of posterity, and it is difficult to speak too highly of the bridge of Santa Trinita, with the noble proportions of its arches. He also completed the Pitti Palace after Brunelleschi, and the whole of the Cortile is by him. He died, universally regretted, on the 14th of April, 1592, and is buried in the church of San Giovanni, which he had so much embellished.

The idyl of his life was his passion for the beautiful Laura Battiferri, who has been made famous by the verses of Bernardo Tasso and Annibale Caro, the former of whom speaks of her as "the pride of Urbino," while the latter styles her "the new Sappho." The Duchess of Urbino was anxious to keep her at that court, but she eloped to Loretto with Ammanati, and was there married to him.

#### GIOVANNI DA BOLOGNA.

(1524-1608.)

This artist was not the last sculptor of the grand epoch, but he was the last truly great man. Though not born in Florence, he was a Tuscan by affinity, and Florence was, so to speak, his cradle, as it was his centre of action.

He had been successful in the competition for the Fountain of Neptune on the Piazza della Signoria, but was set aside in favor of Ammanati, on the ground of his being too young and inexperienced;

but it is probable that the model was afterwards used for the fountain on the grand piazza of Bologna.

The "Mercury," which is the most popular and graceful of his works, at first occupied a very prominent position upon the basin of the fountain of the Villa Medici, and remained there until 1750, when the Grand Duke Peter Leopold I. restored it to Florence. The celebrated group of the "Rape of the Sabines," now at the Loggia dei Lanzi, was also one of his early works. The anecdote of how this group came to be called the "Rape of the Sabines," after having first been merely intended to represent a young man mastering an adversary and taking away a female captive, has been told in a previous chapter. The statue excited so much admiration in its completed form, that John of Bologna was declared to be a fitting successor to Michael Angelo. This was exaggerated praise, but John of Bologna was in so much request that he had more than he could do, and the list of his works is almost interminable. The artists of this period did not throw nearly so much soul into their work as their predecessors, so that the only limit to their productiveness was their physical endurance. Giovanni's successive works were the equestrian statue of Cosimo I. on the Piazza della Signoria; the group of "Hercules and Nessus," which forms a pendant to the "Rape of the Sabines;" the "Victory" group in the large room of the Palazzo Vecchio; the "St.



Luke" in Or San Michele; the Boboli Fountain; the "Genius of the Apennines," which is so conspicuous at the Lake of Pratolino; the beautiful bronze "Venus" in the royal villa at Pretaya; and the colossal "Samson slaying the Philistines," which, originally in the casino of St. Mark at Florence, was sent, with the basin and fittings, to the Duke of Lerma, minister of Philip III. of Spain. The Duke of Buckingham, while travelling in that country, purchased it for Buckingham Palace, and when King George acquired that residence he made a present of it to Sir William Worsley.

This is far from a complete list of his greater works, to say nothing of hundreds of small bronzes which are now in private collections, and of articles of common use, such as fire-dogs, etc. The destruction of the bronze gates of the Pisa Cathedral, which had been melted during the fire of 1595, gave Giovanni da Bologna an opportunity of distinguishing himself; but though he displayed great manual skill, his bas-reliefs were inferior to the original ones. He was assisted in this work by a Portuguese monk of the Dominican order, Portigiani, who as a founder had few or no equals. His sculptures at Siena recall the Medici Chapel, but here, as in all his other works, the depth and inspiration fall short of the outline and style.

There is a general concurrence of testimony as to his having been a man of very estimable private



character, and when he died, at eighty-four years of age, he was buried with due honors in the Madonna del Soccorso Chapel at SS. Annunziata.

The last great artists whose names may be mentioned are Tribolo, Vincenzo Danti, Lorenzi Stoldo, and Paolo Ponzio Trebati, to each of whom a brief biographical sketch is attached.

#### TRIBOLO.

(1485-1550.)

The proper name of Tribolo was Niccolò Braccini. He first comes into notice with a bronze group for a fountain executed for Lorenzo Strozzi. In 1525 he went to Bologna, where he did twelve bas-reliefs for the door of the cathedral, which had been decorated by Jacopo della Quercia. Like all the artists of the sixteenth century, his style betrayed the influence of Michael Angelo. From Bologna he went to Rome, where he erected the tomb of Pope Adrian VI. in the church of Santa Maria dell' Anima, and from Rome the Pope sent him to Loretto, where he decorated the sanctuary, the bas-reliefs of which, it may be added, are of a commonplace and almost vulgar type. From Loretto he came to Florence, where Michael Angelo employed him upon the Medici Chapel, but falling ill, he went to Venice with Cellini, who hoped to find work for him with Sansovino. Failing that, he once more returned to Florence, and took an active part in getting up the deco-

rations for the marriage festival of Alessandro de' Medici to Margaret of Austria. Cosimo I. employed him to make two fountains for the villas of Castello and Petraya, and on the marriage of that Prince with Eleanora of Toledo he erected a superb triumphal arch at the Porta al Prato. He became a sort of artistic master of ceremonies, and, as this was a period of great festivity in Florence, he never lacked employment. When the son of the Grand Duke was christened he transformed the Baptistery from ceiling to floor, bringing the "St. John" of Donatello from the Casa Martelli to surmount the temporary font which he had erected.

Turning his attention from sculpture to hydraulics, Tribolo got into serious difficulties. Inundations occurred during the execution of certain works planned by him, and chagrin at the popular manifestations of disapproval which resulted, is sometimes supposed to have been the cause of his death, which occurred in September, 1550. He was one of the leading sculptors of his day, surpassed only by Michael Angelo and Giovanni da Bologna.

#### VINCENZIO DANTI.

(1530-1576.)

Danti completed the marble group representing the Baptism of Christ upon the architrave of the eastern gate of the Baptistery. It was begun—some critics say only modelled—by Sansovino, and the

angel was made by Spinazzi in the seventeenth century. Though most of his work was done at Florence, he was a native of Perugia, for which place he cast the large bronze statue of Pope Julius II., which stands just behind the cathedral. He was a military architect as well, and left several sonnets, being altogether a very notable representative of the Renaissance.

LORENZI STOLDI was one of the artists who were employed upon the Duomo and San Celso at Milan, and what value his sculptures possess they derive from being imitations of the antique.

PAOLO PONZIO (1500–157–).—This artist, taken to the Court of François I. by Primaticcio, was a naturalized Frenchman, and it was as “Paul Ponce” that he modelled the stuccoes for the gallery of François I., the frescoes in which were painted by Rosso and Primaticcio, and recently restored by M. Alaux. The Louvre contains several works of this artist, who remained in France during the reign of four monarchs, from François I. to Charles IX. The Renaissance Museum contains his statues of Albert Pius of Savoy, Prince de Carpi, Charles de Magny captain of Henri II.’s body-guard, and of André Blondel de Roquencourt, Controller of Finance. It is not known whether he died in France or in Italy, but he must have lived to a great age.

One of the last great sculptors of the period was PIETRO TACCA, a native of Carrara, who did a good

deal of work at Florence. The Medici employed him very frequently, and some of the equestrian statues in the court-yard of the Royal Palace at Madrid are by him. He was a pupil of Giovanni da Bologna, and it was after a model made by that master that he cast the statue of Duke Ferdinand on the Piazza della SS. Annunziata. He was also the author of the bronze fountains which ornament the same square.

From this time the decadence of the art of sculpture proceeded rapidly, and though there has been a revival within the present century, the last of the long series of mighty artists belonging to the period of which this volume treats is Michael Angelo, whose name stands out as a model of civic virtue as well as of inspired genius.

## CHAPTER IX.

## PAINTING.

RICH in paintings as are the Florence collections, and marvellous as is the spectacle of the Uffizi and the Pitti Galleries, it is not in them that the elements for a study of Florentine painting are to be sought. They contain, no doubt, many unique and incomparable examples of the greatest masters, but the true Florentine art is fresco-painting. In this respect Florence is highly privileged, for there is not one of her churches or public monuments from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century in which some great artist has not left the impress of his talent, and some wealthy citizen a proof at once of his liberality and piety.

It is impossible in the course of a single chapter to take more than a bird's-eye view of Florentine art, and though there is no lack of material for writing at length on these paintings—appealing as they do more vividly to the imagination than statuary does—I must confine myself to indicating the march of ideas and the successive phases of their development, citing various specimens of the different masters to illustrate my argument.

The Uffizi and the Pitti Palaces contain such vast

numbers of specimens of the pictorial art that no adequate idea of them can be gathered from the descriptions of specialist writers. Here were gradually accumulated all the masterpieces purchased by successive members of the Medici family, the liberality of the last bearer of this name converting these galleries into a national museum, which, while not perhaps unrivalled as a general history of art, unquestionably contains specimens unique of their kind, and which no critic of art can ignore.

The great name of Raphael does not belong to Florence, for, born at Urbino, he spent most of his life at the Vatican. Still there are many of his works at Florence, the Pitti Palace alone possessing twelve, while in the Tribune of the Uffizi may be seen the "Fornarina," the "Madonna del Cardellino," the portraits of "Julius II.," and of "Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena" who was so fond of Raphael that he wished him to marry his niece, and other masterpieces. The Cardinal was the author of the *Calandra*, the first comedy written in Italian, and Raphael painted his portrait twice, and also painted several portraits of his niece. In the Pitti Palace hang his portraits of Maddalena Doni, and her husband Angiolo Doni, who was a great friend of Raphael's.

Masterpieces of sculpture, which furnished excellent models, and exercised upon the Renaissance of that art a marked influence, had been bequeathed to







the Italians by the ancients, but this was scarcely the case in regard to painting. Not that nothing was left of ancient genius in this branch of art, but neither Pompeii, Herculaneum, the Palace of the Cæsars, the tombs of the Volsci and the Etruscans, nor the first efforts of Christian art upon the walls of the catacombs, had been brought to light from out of the entrails of the earth in which they had been entombed for centuries.

The inheritors of Greek art were the Byzantines, and they were the earliest revivers of it with their mosaic compositions at Rome, Ravenna, and Classa. Though the art of painting was shrivelled up, lifeless, and mummified, so to speak, the depositaries of it, such as it was, were these Greek artists.

The persecution of the Iconoclasts had driven some of them into Italy; the Crusades had led to the establishment of more intimate relations between the East and the West; and the Venetians, when desirous of decorating their city and beautifying their temples, sent for artists from Byzantium. A few Italian artists had also studied under the Greek monks, and thus began the resurrection of painting at Rome, Florence, Siena, Perugia, and even at Venice, where the Murano School owes to them its supremacy. There are no specimens of the early painters of the eleventh century at Florence, and with regard to the miniature painters, with whom we have the real transition from ancient art to the Renaissance of paint-

ing, their history is very obscure. The only Florentine painters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of whose works anything is known are Rustico (1066), Girolamo di Morello (1112), Marchisello (1191), Magister Fidanza (1224), Bartolommeo (1236), and Lapo (1259).

In the thirteenth century a Franciscan monk, Jacobus Toriti, decorated the cupola of the Baptistery, his name and the date being still legible. This artist also executed the famous mosaics in St. John Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, his tracery and foliage work above the "Coronation of the Virgin" in the latter church being very celebrated.

These mosaics are works of great merit, the combination of shape and colors testifying to his artistic sense. The decorations of the Baptistery were begun by him about the year 1226, continued by Taffi in 1294, and completed by Gaddo Gaddi. They bear unmistakable evidence of being the work of an artist who had studied under the Greeks, and, as a matter of fact, Andrea Tafi was one of their pupils, having worked at the mosaics of St. Mark's (Venice), where he and his fellow-workers—one of whom, Buffalmaco, has a few works in the Florence collections—derived their main inspirations from the Greeks.

CIMABUE was the first of the new school of painters in Florence. Born in 1240, and said by Vasari to have been a pupil of the Greek mosaic workers, with

only the works of Turríta and of Coppo di Marco Valdo as models, he was obliged at first to follow in their track; but he soon shook off their trammels, and acquired a freedom of handling and a power of expressing life and movement which they did not possess. The greatest of Cimabue's works is the Madonna in the Ruccellai Chapel at Santa Maria Novella, which, though still Byzantine in character, is intellectualized, and rises far above the work of the Greek mosaicists. The Virgin is represented as dressed in a red tunic, covered with a blue mantle embroidered in gold. Angels stand three deep on each side of the throne. Though there is much to criticize in the painting, both of the Madonna and Child, the effect produced by it was overpowering, and it has been mentioned in a previous chapter how Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, went in state to visit it while passing through Florence, and how the whole city crowded after him. When the picture was taken to Santa Maria Novella there was a solemn procession to the church, and public rejoicings extending over several days.

With the exception of another Madonna in the Academy of Fine Arts, which adheres more closely to the Byzantine style, Florence does not possess the most important works of this pioneer of the Renaissance artists.

The Upper Church of Assisi is said to have afforded specimens of the highest development of Cimabue's

talent, but we are obliged to take this to some extent on trust, as the frescoes are so much injured by time that it is difficult to judge what they originally were like. When, however, it is remembered that the art of painting in that day consisted in the representation of a figure, a frieze, and a procession, as in the mosaics of the first centuries, much credit is due to the artist who first, with the assistance of the pupils whom he employed, represented Bible scenes, and attempted compositions such as those which in a perfected form were executed by his successors upon the walls of the Vatican, in the Stanze, and the Sistine Chapel.

Comparing Cimabue and Giotto, various writers have described the former as the last of Byzantine and the latter as the first of modern painters. The second part of this dictum is, beyond doubt, correct, and the distance between Giotto and Cimabue is enormous. The story of how Cimabue saw Giotto, while looking after his flock of sheep, sketching them with a piece of charcoal on a rock, and at once took him as a pupil, is well known. If Giotto's compositions are criticised in detail, or if he were to be judged by a few easel pictures of doubtful authenticity preserved in the museums, it would be difficult to understand how his works came to be so popular, or why he holds so prominent a place in the history of painting. But this is not the way to look at him, and what elicits so much admiration is the spirit by which he is animated, his tendencies, his breadth, and the genius

which enabled him to symbolize an idea, and to render it palpable by transferring it from the moral and philosophical domain to the world of reality and fact by some striking imagery. Thus, for instance, when he represents the Catholic Church as a storm-tossed vessel, he displays a power of inventiveness which appeals to the intelligence. In his "Life of St. Francis," in the Upper Church at Assisi, which was one of his earlier works, he illustrated the life of that saint, by representing various scenes, in each of which one or more personages are depicted as taking part. There is more life and delicacy of touch in these frescoes than in those of Cimabue, and Giotto already showed that he was a master of posture and attitude; as, for instance, when seeking to represent a thirsty man coming upon a spring, he depicts him as throwing himself face downwards to the ground. The frescoes in the lower church, executed later, testify to a still more marked improvement in the art of painting, the color being harmonious, and the shade effects transparent and light, though time has dimmed them so much that it is impossible to reproduce them in an engraving.

As it is my object to describe the special characteristics and style of each artist rather than to write his biography or a catalogue of his works, it may be said, with regard to GIOTTO, that he lent animation to the personages whom he painted, and gave expression to the passions which they might be supposed to feel.

All his characters carry their nationality on their faces—this being a distinct advance upon the impassible and uniform type of countenance painted by the Byzantines—as in his “Raising of Lazarus” at Padua, where it is easy to distinguish an Israelite and an Arab. Moreover, he is, so far as we know, the first portrait painter. In a picture at St. John Lateran (1300) he represented Pope Boniface VIII. in a standing posture, wearing his tiara, and attended by two young clerks; and among the portraits by him in the Bargello, so fortunately discovered in 1841, are those of Charles of Valois cousin of the King of Naples, Dante, Corso Donato, and Brunetto Latini the master of Dante.

There are few churches in Florence which do not contain frescoes either by Giotto himself or by one of his school. But Giotto does not show to so much advantage in his own country as at Padua, where the greatest of his works is to be seen in the Scrovegni Chapel at the Madonna dell’ Arcna, in a series of frescoes illustrating scenes from Holy Scripture. The “Bribery of Judas” and the “Crucifixion” are conceived with great dramatic power, and awaken in the beholder mingled feelings of terror and pity. His friend Dante was at Padua during this period, and his presence doubtless had no little influence upon this work.

Giotto was the painter of the frescoes in the Peruzzi and Bardi Chapels at Santa Croce. He



visited many of the principal cities of Italy, and most of the Courts. The Visconti invited him to Milan, an ancestor of the Malatestas to Rimini, and Gero Pepoli to Bologna, while he went to Rome to paint a portrait of Boniface VIII. He spent some time at Arezzo, and in 1330 he was at Naples at the request of King Robert; in each of these cities he made many disciples, and effected a revolution in painting. He set the fashion of fresco pictures, and this is why many subsequent works were accredited to him.

Giotto was an architect and sculptor as well, and in 1334 he was charged with the building of the Campanile at Florence. It appears certain that he prepared the plans for the architectural part of this edifice, as well as the drawings for all the sculptures executed by Andrea Pisano. His plan was not carried out in its entirety, for he had designed a pyramid similar to that which surmounts the Campanile of St. Mark's, but this, as already mentioned, was omitted by his pupil Taddeo Gaddi, who assumed the direction of the works after his death.

His pupils, in addition to Taddeo, were Puccio Capana Fiorentino, Ottaviano da Faenza, Pace da Faenza, Guglielmo da Forli, Stefano Fiorentino, and Pietro Cavallini, and some mention must be made of them, as they were the stem from which issued the branches of the tree of art. TADDEO GADDI was the son of one of those early artists who were associated with Andrea Taffi upon the mosaics of the cupola of

San Giovanni, and his father, GADDO GADDI, was also a contemporary of Jacopo da Turrata, and worked with him at Rome. From his father's studio Taddeo went to that of Giotto, his godfather, and it was to this change that he owed the prominent place which he occupied in the world of art. He had a quick eye for decorative effects, and with a good deal of skill in outline, his pictures are, as a rule, remarkable for their suavity. The Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce contains several frescoes from the "Life of the Virgin." At Santa Felicità there is a very graceful Madonna, and in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella a grand allegorical composition representing the "Apotheosis of St. Thomas," surrounded by prophets and evangelists, and trampling Heresy under foot. This fresco also comprises fourteen figures representing the Sciences and Virtues, and at the foot of each is seated a personage who may be regarded as the incarnation of that particular gift. Thus, for instance, Cicero is at the feet of Rhetoric, and Euclid at those of Geometry. The Sacristy Chapel of Santa Croce also contains an altar-piece of the Madonna surrounded by saints, the work of this artist.

Taddeo Gaddi was an architect as well, and reconstructed the Loggia of Or San Michele, after the designs of Arnolfo di Cambio, while a still more important work was the Ponte Vecchio, with its row of shops, which brought in such a handsome income to the town. It has been noticed that the strongest floods





have never affected the solidity of this bridge, and it is strange that a painter such as Taddeo should have been so well versed in what we should call civil engineering; though, as a matter of fact, the Communal Council employed him on many important works of a similar kind. He widened the quays, repaired the fortifications, and rebuilt the Ponte Santa Trinita (again destroyed in 1557), and was so busy that he had to take Simone Memmi to assist him. He also completed the Campanile, begun by his master Giotto, and, as I have several times mentioned before, modified the original design.

Taddeo Gaddi had two sons, Agnolo and Giovanni; his remains are interred at Santa Croce, in the first cloister, and in the same tomb as that erected by him for his father, the epitaph upon it reading:

Hoc uno dici poterat Florentia felix  
Vivente : at certa est non potuisse mori.

Giotto was the surname given to TOMMASO STEFANO, whose father, a painter of some merit, was a contemporary of Giotto. The well-deserved surname does not indicate much originality on the part of this artist, who, however, exercised no little influence; and it is astonishing, considering that he died at the early age of two-and-thirty, that he should have left so many works behind him. The best known of them all is the composition relating to the life of St. Silvester, in the Bardi Chapel at Santa

Croce. The saint is represented in the act of exorcising a dragon whose breath is poisonous, and a monk who is present is pressing his hand to his nose with a very lifelike expression. Filippo Lippi showed his appreciation of this work by borrowing some of the features in it for his frescoes at Santa Maria Novella.

There are frescoes by him in the Cappella Strozzi in the crypt of Santa Maria Novella, and a *Picta* at present in the Uffizi is probably by the same hand.

When still very young he was intrusted with a singular task by the Signoria. The Duke of Athens had just been expelled, and in order to stigmatize his memory, it was determined to portray on the walls of the Palace of the Podestàs (now called the Bargello) the Duke and his companions, with the mitres of justice on their heads, surrounded by the animals which were emblematic of his appetites and vices. Nothing remains of this work, nor is there anything to give an idea of the portraits of the Pazzi conspirators, who, after being hung by the feet, were painted on these same walls a hundred years later. A curious feature of these paintings was that the scutcheon of the family was given under the effigy of each person.

Many of the works executed by Giotto at Florence have disappeared, but there is a composition said to be by him in St. John Lateran at Rome, in which the Pope appears; a group of celebrated per-



sonages at the Orsini Palace; and a fine portrait of St. Louis to the right of the high altar at Ara Cœli. He also left his mark upon the Lower Church at Assisi.

Taddeo Agnolo Gaddi left two sons, AGNOLO and GIOVANNI. The first commenced his career as an artist at San Jacopo extra Muros at Florence, where he painted the "Resurrection of Lazarus," in what would now be termed "realistic" fashion. The body is represented as quite putrefied, and the expressions of the spectators are supposed to be in keeping with the horror which they feel. It may be remarked in this connection that the naturalists of the present day have never gone so far as the early painters, who have only been outdone in this respect by the Spaniards of the seventeenth century, and these latter—such as Ribeira and Valdès Leal—had a skill and power which did much to mitigate the repulsiveness of their delineations.

Another important work of Agnolo was the "Life of St. Cecilia" in the Carmine Church;\* and he painted for the Alberti family, in the choir of Santa Croce, the "History of the True Cross."

Like his father, he was a skilful architect, and was employed to repair and enlarge the Bargello after the fire of 1330. He went on with his paintings at the

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\* More generally attributed to Carentino or Spinello, or both.



same time, executing several works now preserved in the Uffizi and Academia. He also painted some frescoes in the cathedral at Prato, and a Madonna and saints in Santo Spirito in Florence is attributed to him. He is described as having only painted when the fancy took him, as he was rich enough to be independent; and his sons, who had no taste for art, went into trade, and made a large fortune at Venice. Their father died at Florence, aged sixty-three.

Another early painter of whom little is known, though he played a very prominent part at Florence, was BUFFALMACO. His surname or Christian name—which of the two it is difficult to say—was Buonamico, and this pupil of Andrea Taffi was a very jovial and humorous character, and was probably the originator of the studio jokes for which painters have ever been noted. Boccaccio and Sacchetti have made him famous, and he is better known for his adventures than for his works. Some of the latter, however, are to be found in the museums of Florence, and there are frescoes by him at the Certosa near Florence; at the Badia, where he represented the “Passion” in the Giochi and Bastari Chapel; and at the Ognissanti, where he painted the “Nativity of Christ” and the “Adoration of the Magi.” At Arezzo he was employed by Bishop Guido to decorate the baptismal chapel of the cathedral. Vasari has drawn a very fascinating portrait of Buffalmaco, who appears to

have been something of a poet, and to have written very sprightly notices of his own works.\*

His stay at Arezzo was followed by a journey to Pisa, where, among other compositions, he painted the History of the World, from the Creation to the Building of the Ark. All round this composition was a frieze, with the portraits of different personages, himself included. He wrote a sonnet descriptive of this work, and Vasari, in his lengthy biography of him, describes him as prodigal in his style of living, and as dying so poor, at the age of sixty-eight, that he was buried in the paupers' grave in the cloisters of the hospital, 1340.

Taddeo Gaddi left a pupil, Venetian by birth but Florentine by adoption, named ANTONIO VENEZIANO, whose earliest works, in the Grand Council Room at Venice, have been destroyed by fire. He seems to have been rather badly used in his native country, and to have excited the jealousy of foreign painters, so he returned to Florence, where he was very well received. He did paintings at Santo Spirito, San Ste-

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\* "They (frescoes illustrating the Life of our Lord, in the Campo Santo at Pisa) are ascribed to a certain Buonamico Buffalmaco, whose existence is, however, altogether doubtful, as the description of his life by Vasari is a mere tissue of whimsical stories." *Hand-book of Painting*. Kügler, vol. i., p. 145.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle make only a passing allusion to Buffalmaco in connection with the Pisan Campo Santo (vol. i., p. 451), and the only work attributed to him in Horner's *Walks in Florence* is a fresco in the left aisle of San Miniato, while his name does not occur in Karl Károly's *The Paintings of Florence*.

fano al Ponte Vecchio, and he was afterwards employed by the committee of the Campo Santo at Pisa upon the frescoes illustrating episodes in the life of San Ranieri, the patron of the city. This was the greatest work which he executed, and it won him a high place in the esteem of the people of Pisa.

From Pisa he returned to Florence, and painted a series of religious scenes in a tabernacle in the grounds of Nuovoli, just outside the Porta al Prato. Thence he went to the Certosa, where the Acciaiuoli family employed him to decorate the chapel in which their ancestors were buried; but this is one of the many works which have been effaced by the hand of time.\* Veneziano later in life gave up painting for botany. He died somewhere about 1387.

SPINELLO SPINELLI was born at Arezzo, but there are many of his works at Florence. Baron Capelli, pleased with his style, employed him to paint the principal chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore. He is also supposed to have done some of the frescoes in the Carmine Church, as well as a fine fresco of the Ascension for the Santa Trinita; and a number of other works, some of which are now preserved in the Academia.

He painted some historical scenes in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena and was commissioned in 1377 by Nerosso degli Alberti to decorate the Sacristy of San

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\* Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute the Navicella on the ceiling of the Spanish chapel at Santa Maria Novella to this artist.

Miniato with scenes from the life of St. Benedict. He died about the year 1410.

ANDREA ORCAGNA is not, perhaps, so highly appreciated as he deserves to be, as architect, sculptor, and painter, for he excelled in covering large spaces, and his ideas were comprehensive enough to embody the vast subjects which he represented on the walls of many a Campo Santo and church. His architectural abilities were displayed at the Loggia dei Lanzi. At Or San Michele we see his wonderful sculptural gifts, while in the frescoes upon the walls of Santa Maria Novella he gave free course to his gloomy imagination.

There is more realism about PAOLO UCELLO, who represented historical facts without any of those allegories which tend to confuse at times. His proper name was Paolo di Dono, and it was because of his fondness for birds that he was surnamed Ucello. He was a Florentine, not only in style, but by birth. Born in 1396, he was, like most of his contemporaries, a goldsmith rather than a painter in his early days. He was employed in the shop of Ghiberti when the latter was at work on the Baptistery gates. But very few of his own works are known. At Santa Maria Novella there are a series of frescoes by him, and in the Florence Cathedral there is a work signed "Pauli Ucelli opus." This fresco is a portrait of Sir John Hawkwood, an English captain of free companies, who was for many years in the service of the

Republic. Paolo was fond of soldiers, and in the Casa Vitali at Padua he painted portraits of the mighty men of war so often spoken of by Andrea Mantegna. The Bartolini Garden at Gualfonda had until recently a series of frescoes by him entitled the "Four Battles," of which the English National Gallery now has the "Battle of San Egidio," in which Carlo Malatesta and his nephew Galeazzo appear side by side. Apart from his work as a painter, he has transmitted to us several facts of historical interest, and many details as to dress and military equipment at Florence in the fifteenth century. Paolo contributed not a little to the advancement of the science of perspective, owing to his having studied mathematics with Gianozzo Manetti.

His "Battle of San Egidio" is a work which deserves close attention, for though it is old-fashioned, and the horses are as stilted and wooden as the figures of the warriors are childish, this is the first battle painted by an artist of the Renaissance—the first composition in which the laws of perspective are observed. This picture, moreover, shows us what was the kind of armor worn in the early part of the fifteenth century, and gives likenesses of the celebrated Condottieri, who, with their free companies, played such a conspicuous part in the history of Italy.

MASOLINO DA PANICALE, an artist of the same period, and a Florentine as well, gave a marked impulse to the art of his time, and effected a considerable im-

provement in the execution. Until his time all painters employed a conventional perspective, and the various personages of a group were invariably huddled together. Masolino was a pupil of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and one of the twenty-one assistants who helped to make the Baptistery gates. His first efforts were made at Rome, but falling sick of a fever, he returned to Florence, where he had the good fortune to be employed to paint the Life of St. Peter on one of the walls of the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmine Church. This work appears to have been characterized by much force and expression, but it is impossible to distinguish what is due to Masolino, as his painting has been effaced by the brushes of his successors.\* Still he contributed his share to the building, and he is credited with having been the first painter who could portray a smile, the flutter of a garment, or the lifelike hue of the flesh; while Vasari asserts that in regard to the relief of his pictures, he so deceived the eye that his figures seem to stand out.

MASACCIO, one of the leading figures in the history of Florentine painting, was born in 1402, and with his superb talent, his native elegance, his combination of strength and suavity, his profound knowledge of anatomy, and his strongly marked characteristics, he stands quite alone. A contemporary of, though younger than, Ghiberti, he did not live beyond the

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\* Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider that these frescoes are not the work of Masolino.



age of seven-and-twenty, and his premature death was a severe loss to Florence.

His greatest works are in the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmine Church. The various restorations of these pictures have robbed them of much of their interest, but disfigured as they are, one can still form some idea of the nobility of the compositions by the engravings which have been preserved of them. For a century they were fruitful examples, and a school of study for painters, and not since Giotto had any artist effected such progress in the details of painting, paving the way for the still more perfect creations of a Leonardo da Vinci and a Raphael. The place of Masaccio's burial is uncertain, though Vasari says that he was interred in the Carmine Church.

Another painter, whose works throw no little light upon the dress and manners of the day, is PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA, who was born in 1416, at Borgo San Sepolcro, and who, at the time of his death in 1492, was quite blind. His pictures and frescoes are now very scarce, but he was an active artist. At a time when portrait painting was so little in vogue, it is interesting to meet with the works of artists such as he and Pisanello, who portrayed between them many princes and leading men. Piero della Francesca painted portraits at the Courts of Urbino, Ferrara, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, and Rome; and he was a distinguished geometer and writer on perspective. His portraits are now much sought



after, and whenever one comes into the market it fetches a high price.

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI (1427–1499) is less known, and his works are even scarcer than those of Francesca. If his disfigured frescoes could have been preserved we should have had authentic portraits of the greatest men of the day, for he painted in the Gianfigliuzzi Chapel of Santa Trinita likenesses of Guicciardini, Luca Pitti, Diotisalvi Neroni, Giuliano de' Medici, Gherardo Gianfigliuzzi, Messer Bongianni, and Filippo Strozzi. These interesting works became more and more injured, until they finally disappeared in 1760. The altar-piece which he did for this same chapel is identified by Crowe and Cavalcaselle with the one hanging in the Academy of Fine Arts, of the Trinity between two kneeling saints, and catalogued "Inconnu." The frescoes of Santa Trinita were begun in 1471, and took him five years to finish. Cosimo Rosselli, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pietro Perugino, and Filippino Lippi were employed to value them.

Up to that time the painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries treated sacred subjects in a broad and philosophical spirit. This was the case even with the most illustrious of them, such as Giotto and Orcagna; but a new school was gradually formed, consisting of artists who were not only religious by doctrine and feeling, but were themselves attached to the Church. FRA FILIPPO DI TOMMASO LIPPI (born

at Florence in 1412, and died in 1469) was one of the first of this school. He was known in art as Filippo Lippi, and he belonged to the Carmelite order. Brought up in the Carmine convent, he doubtless acquired as a boy a taste for painting from the frescoes of Masaccio; and when he began to copy the latter's work, he became so imbued with his principles, that it was commonly said that Masaccio's soul had become embodied in him. In course of time he abandoned the Carmelite convent, though he did not throw off the robe. In 1452 he was chaplain to the convent of nuns of S. Giovannino at Florence, and this benefice enabled him to pursue his artistic profession in independence. It was customary then, as it was in France two or three centuries later, to inscribe the names of the great artists of the day who had taken orders, upon the list of candidates for vacant benefices, and Leo Battista Alberti held a canonry, which enabled him to carry out the important works upon which succeeding pontiffs employed him. So numerous were the artists in holy orders in Italy, that the Dominicans alone have formed the subject of a bulky volume.

A curious incident in the life of Filippo Lippi was his capture by pirates upon the Adriatic; for eighteen months he remained their prisoner, owing his release to the talent with which he drew a charcoal portrait of one of his captors. On his return to Florence he gained the friendship of Cosimo. and





afterwards of Lorenzo de' Mediei. There is scarcely a place in Tuscany which cannot boast of frescoes by him, though, as he had a son of the same name, also in holy orders and also a painter of some ability, it is not always easy to distinguish between them.

It is strange that a painter whose compositions were so full of religious fervor should have been so dissolute, as he appears to have been, but he possessed some good qualities in private life, for Lorenzo de' Mediei, deeming that his tomb in the cathedral of Spoleto—at which place he died, while decorating the principal chapel of the cathedral—was not worthy of him, after paying a visit to it while on his way to Rome, asked that the body might be given up to him. As this request was refused, he resolved to erect a monument worthy of the defunct artist, and instructed Cardinal Napoli to superintend the execution of the tomb, and Politian to write the epitaph inscribed on it.

In the “Coronation of the Virgin,” now in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence, Fra Filippo Lippi has left a portrait of himself. He is the figure with clasped hands ascending the steps on the right; his portrait may also be seen in one of the Spoleto frescoes.

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO, whose name has occurred several times in the course of this work (1396–1457), painted the effigies of the Pazzi conspirators in the Bargello, and so got the nickname of “Andrea degl’

Impiecati." Several churches in Florence have frescoes by him, which with their firm handling and dark tones remind one of Mantegna and some of the Lombard painters, while in the Pitti Palace there is a portrait of some unknown person attributed to him.

BENOZZO GOZZOLI,—born at Florence in 1420,—died in 1498, was a pupil of Fra Angelico at Fiesole, and helped him to paint several of the frescoes in Orvieto Cathedral. An indefatigable worker, many of his paintings are extant both in Pisa and Florence, the frescoes in the Campo Santo at the former place being possibly his greatest work. They consist of twenty-four scenes taken from the Old Testament, beginning with Noah and terminating with the Visit of the Queen of Sheba. Benozzi Gozzoli called to his aid all the resources of nature, laying the scenes of his subjects amid beautiful landscapes or handsome buildings, and peopling his pictures with animals of different kinds, horses, dogs, and birds of brilliant plumage. The influence of Masaccio is perceptible in his heads, but he has a style of his own in the outlines of his female figures and in the delicate arrangement of the hair and the draperies. The best known of all his works is in the ancient Medici Chapel of the Riccardi Palace, and represents the "Adoration of the Magi." The Magi are depicted as winding on horseback through a rocky country on their way to Bethlehem. Most of the figures are portraits of prominent persons of the day—Cosimo the Elder;



his brother Lorenzo; Gozzoli himself; Lorenzo the Magnificent; Manuel Palæologus; the Patriarch of Constantinople, and many others being represented here. He was very fond of painting his contemporaries, and in the Campo Santo at Pisa he placed Mareilio Ficino among the prelates, with Argiropoulos, the celebrated Hellenist, and Bartolommeo Platina.

Benozzo Gozzoli exercised an immense influence upon his time, for the illuminated manuscripts of the fifteenth century abound in subjects copied from him. His various compositions and costumes, even his peculiarity of always bringing animals into his pictures, are reproduced. The monks of the Campo Santo of Pisa were so pleased with his work, attracting as it did strangers from all parts of Italy, that they erected a funeral monument to him during his lifetime, with the inscription, "*Hic Tumulus est Benotii Florentini, qui proxime has pinxit historias: hunc sibi Pisanor: donavit humanitas MCCCCLXXVIII.*" This tomb was erected in 1478, but Gozzoli did not die until 1498. He is one of those artists for whom the present generation has conceived a great admiration, and it may almost be said that he has been re-discovered, his fame having hitherto been obscured by the painters of the sixteenth century.

COSIMO ROSSELLI and SANDRO BOTTICELLI (1447-1510) were contemporaries, but the celebrity of the latter is incomparably the greater. Sandro (the diminutive of Alessandro) was the son of Mariano



Filipepi, and took the name of Botticelli, from the goldsmith to whom he was apprenticed. He was a scholar of Fra Filippo Lippi, and united to the vigorous and forceful style of that master an original and delicate fancy, particularly noticeable in his allegorical pictures. One of these has a somewhat peculiar history. It represented Pallas (the Wisdom of the Medici) leading a centaur (Violence and Misrule), and Vasari's not very accurate description of it was supported by an existing engraving; of the original painting, however, all traces seemed to have disappeared.

In the year 1894 Mr. William Spence noticed a picture hanging in an obscure corner of one of the royal apartments in the Pitti which he thought bore indications of being by the hand of Botticelli. The attention of Signor Ridolfi being called to it, he unhesitatingly pronounced it to be the lost Pallas. It is thought to have been painted about the year 1480 in honor of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

Vasari also mentions as one of his easel pictures the profile of a woman who has always been supposed to be the mistress of Giuliano de' Medici, killed in the Pazzi conspiracy. It is now thought, however, that this portrait represents a young woman of the lower classes, the picture in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale being that of the real Simonetta. This lady died young, and her charms were celebrated in verse by both Politiano and Bernardo Pulei. The

former also wrote an epitaph on her. Lorenzo, in his notes on his own sonnets, describes the grief caused in Florence by the premature death of a young lady of singular beauty, who has been identified as this same Simonetta.

Botticelli illustrated the "Divina Commedia," and no other painter, not even Giotto, was so thoroughly versed in the works of Dante, whom he annotated, taking the subjects of several of his compositions from episodes in the "Convito." He was also an enthusiastic admirer of Savonarola, and towards the close of his life felt so strongly in his cause that he would willingly have suffered martyrdom for him.

The round picture of the Madonna surrounded by saints which hangs in the Uffizi Gallery is a happy example of the peculiar style of this master. A number of his other works hang in the same gallery, and a few are to be seen at Paris and Berlin. As a fresco painter we find him represented by three biblical scenes, and the portraits of twenty-eight Popes in the Sistine Chapel, where Sextus IV. had employed him to superintend the decoration of the walls. A great many artists were engaged upon the work, and the editor of Kügler's "Hand-book of Painting" states that Cosimo Rosselli having gauged the quality of the Pope's artistic taste, overlaid his figures thickly with gold, whereupon "to the dismay of the other artists his Holiness expressed himself best pleased with Cosimo's performances."

Botticelli died about the year 1510, his most eminent scholar being Filippino Lippi.

FRA GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE, better known as Fra Beato Angelico, belongs to the school of ascetic painters whose lives were spent in praising God with voice and brush. He was born at Castello di Vecchio, in the Mugello, in 1387, and christened Guido. He entered the order of the Preaching Brethren, or Dominicans, at the age of twenty, and ended his life as a miniature painter. His first essays in art were made at Cortona, where several of them are still preserved. He was at Fiesole in 1418, and for the ensuing eighteen years but little is known of him. In 1436 the convent formerly occupied by the friars of S. Sylvester was given to the Dominicans, and Fra Angelico was employed to paint an altar-piece and decorate the walls with frescoes. He spent nine years upon this work, which has made his name so famous—helped, it is said, by his brother Fra Benedetto, the series of frescoes painted there rendering San Marco a very sanctuary of art. There are two distinct categories of decoration in San Marco, representing what may be called ceremonial and homely painting. In the first Fra Beato depicted the grander scenes of Holy Writ with profound faith and consummate skill, combining simplicity and grandeur of execution with the manifest sincerity of a great soul. In the cells of the convent he is seen in quite another light. Having lived in intimacy with the different





monks, he knew the favorite saint of each, and depicted on the walls of his cell some episode in the life of that saint.

After nine years of this work he was invited by Pope Eugenius IV., in 1445, to come and work at the Vatican, where Nicholas V. also gave him employment. This did not prevent him, however, from going to Orvieto, where he commenced, but did not finish, a series of frescoes in the Duomo. Summoned back to Rome by Nicholas V., he remained there until his death in 1455, and was buried in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. It was said that he never took up a brush without a previous prayer, and it is a pity that his gentle countenance has not been depicted on the walls of San Marco, as a pendant to the portrait of Savonarola, with whom his name is so closely associated.

LUCA SIGNORELLI was not, strictly speaking, one of the Florentine School, for he was born at Cortona, about 1441, was a pupil of Pierro della Francesea, and painted at Arezzo, Citta di Castello, and Orvieto, where he completed the work left unfinished by Fra Angelico. He also painted at the Sistine Chapel, but most of his works have disappeared, and his greatest achievement was the decoration of the chapel of the Madonna of San Brizio in Orvieto Cathedral—a composition which inspired Michael Angelo himself, and which may be regarded as one of the most powerful in Italy. Signorelli took only three years and three



months to complete this grand series of frescoes, divided into four separate compositions—Antichrist, Hell, the Resurrection, Paradise. The “Fulminati”—destruction of the wicked—is a marvel of movement and intensity, the attitudes of the figures being sublime in their reality.

FRA BARTOLOMMEO, called Bartolommeo di San Marco, partly because of the part he took in the decoration of St. Mark's and partly because he was an inmate of that convent, was originally known as Baccio della Porta. He was one of the most eminent of Florentine painters of religious subjects, excelling in the grandeur of his outlines and the superb gravity of his figures. Born at Suffignano, just outside Prato, it was his passion for Savonarola which brought him to the convent of San Marco, where he was an assiduous attendant of the Dominican's sermons, forming one of those who grouped themselves around him when the populace laid siege to St. Mark's. But if he was a great artist, he was not very warlike, for, becoming panic-stricken at finding his life in danger, he made a vow that if he escaped he would enter holy orders. This he accordingly did in 1500 at Prato, where he assumed the robe of the Dominicans, and shut himself up from the world. For a time he abandoned painting as well, but in the course of time he returned to St. Mark's, where many of his works are still to be seen. This was the period of Raphael's visit to Florence, and the young painter



of Urbino became a very close friend of the monk, passing hours at a time in his cell. He went on to Rome, while Michael Angelo and Raphael were there, marking his progress by the execution of different works in the towns through which he passed. Two pictures by him in the Pitti Palace at Florence are thus described by Vasari: "The fancy took him, as it was said that he could only paint small pictures, to prove the contrary, and to place above the door, opening into the choir of San Marco, a panel thirty feet high, representing St. Mark the Evangelist; the work being perfect in design and one of real merit. After this Salvator Belli, a Florentine merchant, hearing, on his return from Naples, of Fra Bartolommeo's talent, and having seen some of his works, ordered from him another, a picture of our Saviour—as symbolic of his own name—surrounded by the four Evangelists. There are also in this composition two children holding up the globe, and their fresh coloring is like the rest of the work, admirably rendered." These painters, who belonged to the religious orders, are very numerous in the history of art; they were all given a dispensation from their duties in the convent, and what they gained with their brush went to the community, as they were only allowed to keep what money they required for the purchase of colors and accessories.

GHIRLANDAJO, one of the artists whose works influenced Fra Bartolommeo, died in 1498; he was himself a painter of no little talent, combining grav-

ity and power with much grace. He was gifted, moreover, with a robustness of expression which is equally noticeable in all his works, whether at Santa Maria Novella—in the series of compositions which cover the walls of the choir from roof to base—or in the Sassetti Chapel at Santa Trinita.

His proper name was Domenico Corradi, and it is said that his father first obtained the name of Ghirlandajo on account of the garlands he manufactured for the young girls of Florence, his trade being that of a goldsmith.

The frescos at Santa Maria Novella are remarkable for the large number of figures they contain, and the portraits of contemporary personages introduced into them. These comprise the whole of the Tornabuoni family, Marcilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Demetrius Greco, Politian, and one of the most beautiful of the Florentine maidens, Ginevra Benci. Even in his delineation of buildings he represented the actual state of the city, and the architectural arrangements of the time. Domenico, who was born in 1449, died about 1498, his pupils comprising, in addition to Michael Angelo; Francesco Granacci, Mainardi, Cieco, Jacopo del Tedesco, and Baldini.

FRANCESCO GRANACCI was the favorite pupil of Ghirlandajo, and a fellow-student of Michael Angelo. Lorenzo de' Medici, who took a great deal of interest in Ghirlandajo and his pupils, employed Granacci to design several of the costumes in the Triumph of

Paulus Emilius, which he had organized, and later he carried out the decoration of the streets through which Leo X. and his cortège passed, when that pontiff entered Florence in state. All these ephemeral works have passed away, all that remains being the poems which were composed for the occasion by some of the greatest writers of the day. Granacci had been so intimate with Michael Angelo in the studio of their common master, that the latter sent for him to assist in the decoration of the Sistine, but, concluding that his powers were not equal to the task, subsequently dismissed him, a coolness arising between them in consequence. Most of Granacci's paintings are in distemper, and there are still extant several standards and banners done by him. He possessed some of the qualities of Ghirlandajo, and at one period was powerfully influenced by Michael Angelo in the first instance and Raphael later. He died about 1543, and his remains were laid in San Ambrogio at Florence.

LEONARDO DA VINCI was also a Tuscan by birth, but though born in the Val d'Arno, he was, for reasons which I will explain, almost a stranger to Florence. His father, Pietro da Vinci, was a notary, and his son was born in 1452, the father being appointed, in 1484, notary to the Signoria. Leonardo was a pupil of Andrea Verrocchio, and the legend goes that he showed himself so much superior to the latter in painting that Verrocchio resolved to abandon that

branch of art, and devote himself solely to sculpture, in which he acquired such distinction.

Leonardo's genius embraced every branch of art, science, and literature. Sculptor, painter, architect, engineer, botanist, anatomist, mathematician, and astronomer, he seemed to be at home in every branch of human knowledge. He was a poet, too, and he had few equals as a musician when, taking up the lyre to which he had added a chord, he accompanied his own mellow and resonant voice. For all of these gifts Florence apparently did not offer a sufficiently broad field, for when Ludovico il Moro invited him to Milan he wrote accepting the offer. The original of this letter, preserved in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan, runs : "I can do all that is humanly possible, whether in painting or in sculpture, as well as any living artist." He might fairly have added that, besides being the most skilful of his race in all the plastic arts, he also possessed great physical strength and beauty, for it is said that he was the first swordsman of his day, and that he could twist the clapper of a bell, or stop with one turn of his arm the most fiery coursers.

His arrival at Milan was the turning-point in his destiny ; he was forthwith intrusted with the founding of a ducal Academy of Fine Arts and made Director of the works of the Duomo, his patron also ordering from him an equestrian statue of his father, Francesco Sforza. This colossal group, of which he

made fourteen different sketches, was never executed in bronze, though Leonardo completed two models for it; the first was accidentally broken and the second, according to Castiglione the author of the "*Carteggio*," was destroyed by the Gascon soldiers of Louis XII. at the capture of Milan.

He soon acquired a high reputation as a painter by his execution of the great fresco still in existence, and famous throughout the world as the "*Cenacolo* of Leonardo da Vinci." Unfortunately, whether because the vehicle employed was not what it ought to have been, or because the wall had been imperfectly prepared, or else owing to the dampness of the soil, within a hundred years after it had been painted this fresco was almost entirely ruined.\* Still it may be gathered from the engravings of Morghen and the copies of Marco d'Oggione that it was the work of a great genius, converting the refectory of the Dominicans of the Madonna della Grazia into a true sanctuary. In 1499 he returned to Florence, where he was very favorably received by the Gonfalonier Soderini, and after executing some other works was employed, in 1503, to paint a cartoon for the grand hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, the subject to be symbolic of the glories of Florence. Michael Angelo was to decorate the opposite wall, and the loss of these two cartoons cannot be too deeply deplored. Michael

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\* Its final ruin was accomplished by the "restorers" who retouched it, one in 1726, and another in 1770.

Angelo's composition depicted a scene in the Pisan campaign ; while Leonardo selected as his subject the defeat of the Milanese under Piccinino, by the Florentines, at Anghiari, near Borgo San Sepolcro. Both works were destroyed at the time of the return of the Medici, when the soldiers were quartered in this hall.

Arriving at Rome, in 1514, as one of the suite of Giuliano de' Medici, Leonardo executed a number of paintings notably that of two female figures representing Vanity and Modesty, formerly in the Sciarra collection, and the "Christ Disputing with the Doctors" now to be seen in the National Gallery in London. From Rome he went to France, and remained in the service of Francis I. until his death. He followed that prince to Pavia, and back again to France, forming part of the suit at Fontainebleau and Amboise ; dying at Cloux, near the latter town, on the 2d of May, 1519, at the age of sixty-seven. There is a popular engraving in France which represents him as drawing his last breath in the arms of the King, and the Louvre possesses several of his works, including the famous "Mona Lisa" and the Madonna in the Salon Carré.

His manuscripts on science and art form, with those of Leo Battista Alberti, the first technical treatises written by artists. Florence possesses but few of his works ; of these may be mentioned the Head of Medusa and an Adoration of the Kings, both in the Uffizi Gallery.



LORENZO DI CREDI was the favorite pupil of Verrocchio, and it was to him that the sculptor of the "Colleoni" assigned in his will the task of completing that famous statue. I have already explained that the Senate, not feeling sufficient confidence in his ability, called in Alessandro Leopardi, who received in consequence the sobriquet of Alessandro del Cavallo. Lorenzo, however, inherited all the art works of his late master.

The list of his works is a very long one, for he painted principally easel pictures, was extremely industrious, and lived to the age of seventy-eight. He was a close imitator of Leonardo, it being sometimes difficult to distinguish the latter's original from Lorenzo's copy. His pictures are remarkable for their religious sentiment, their elaborate finish, and the high glaze employed by the artist.

ANDREA DEL SARTO is one of the most touching figures in the history of Florentine painting. Ardent, passionate, and even wanting in good faith, he finally became the victim of a misplaced affection for a woman whom his brush has immortalized. He was the son of a tailor (del Sarto), and his proper name was Andrea Vannucchi. He was born in 1487. Apprenticed at the outset of his career to Gian Barile, and later to Piero di Cosimo, he rapidly acquired a great reputation at Florence, and was invited by the King of France to Fontainebleau. When five-and-twenty years of age he had married a widow named



Lucrezia del Fede, of whom he has left several portraits. At her urgent request he asked Francis I. to let him forego his engagements and return to Florence, and the King not only agreed to this proposal, but intrusted him with a sum of money to purchase works of art for him in Italy. Andrea, however, spent the money at Florence, and never sent the pictures, thus precluding the possibility of his return to France. Many works by him still exist, his frescoes in the SS. Annunziata, in the small cloister leading to the church, which have been protected against the ravages of time by an enclosure of glass, being marvels of taste and execution. The "Madonna del Sacco," over the door of the large cloister leading into the church, is one of the finest works of art in Italy, and is regarded as his masterpiece. Among his other more celebrated works is, first, the "Dispute about the Trinity," painted for the Augustinian brethren, and when their chapel beyond the Porta San Gallo was razed for strategic reasons during the siege of Florence, brought into Florence. In 1555 an inundation of the Arno having damaged it very considerably in the church of San Giovanni tra' Fossi, which was then their headquarters, the picture was removed to the Pitti Palace, and a good copy by Ottavio Vannini, a pupil of Possignano, substituted for it.

Next, the "Descent from the Cross," painted during the plague of 1523, and known in Italy as the

"Pietà di San Luco," Andrea del Sarto having, upon the advice of one Antonio of the Brancacci family, taken refuge at Lucca, and it was for the sisters of San Piero that he painted this picture, now in the Pitti.

An "Assumption of the Madonna," painted for the Cardinal of Cortona, a "Virgin and Saints" and the "Descent from the Cross" give a good idea of the grandiose style of this gifted artist, concerning whom Michael Angelo wrote to Raphael: "There is a little fellow at Florence who, if he was employed as you are upon great works, would make it very hot for you." A judgment such as this, expressed though it is in homely terms, justifies any measure of enthusiasm for Del Sarto, who died in the prime of life, on the 22d of January, 1531, his sharp-tongued wife surviving him forty years. So perfect was he as a designer and colorist, that he was known as "Andrea senza Errori" (Andrea the faultless).

The Florentine School very justifiably regards him as one of its brightest ornaments; Pontormo, Il Rosso, and Domenico Puligo being numbered among his scholars.

There is no need to devote much space to GIORGIO VASARI, though the list of his works is a lengthy one, and though he had in the course of his career opportunities denied to artists more gifted than himself. An architect, a painter, and a writer, his biographies of celebrated artists are his best title to fame, and

these, while full of errors both as to facts and dates, are invaluable as forming the first work on modern art worthy of the name, and supplying information about many of the leading painters which is unobtainable from any other source.

Vasari was a favorite of Cosimo, who employed him to paint the soaring cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, and he also altered the Uffizi Palace and erected the present façade. His career was a very busy one, and he was concerned in all the chief events of his day. Besides the many pictures which he painted for churches, he was fortunate enough, as I have mentioned in describing the Palazzo Vecchio, to be employed to decorate the vast ceiling of the Sala del Cinquecento. He was a man of talent and of considerable acquirements, but in comparison with men of genius consumed by the fire burning within them, he was cold and formal. There are not many easel paintings by him, most of his works being large decorative compositions designed for the walls of palaces and convents, which, if they do not enthrall, at least please the eye.

PONTORMO, a pupil of Del Sarto, whose proper name was Jacopo Carucci, was born in 1494. Coming to years of manhood at a time when Michael Angelo's fame resounded throughout Italy, he had been deeply impressed by the grandeur of his genius. He himself excelled as a portrait painter, and there are numerous admirable examples of his work in this

branch of art to be seen in Berlin and Florence. He won the favor of the Medici, who employed him to decorate the walls of their villas at Poggio a Cajano and Careggi with frescoes. It is worthy of remark that Pontormo, who shows the influence of Michael Angelo in all his fresco paintings, recovers his originality when left face to face with nature. His portraits are of a very high order, and he was employed to paint many of the Medici family, among others Cosimo the Elder, a work which may be seen in a cell at San Marco. It is true that Cosimo the Elder died long before Pontormo's time; but this does not necessarily discredit the authenticity of the portrait, as he would have had abundant materials for a good likeness. Pontormo died in 1557. BRONZINO, a contemporary and imitator of Pontormo, was born in 1502, at Monticelli, near Florence, his first master being Raffaellino del Garbo. His best works are to be seen in a small chapel in the Palazzo Vecchio, where he executed a series of frescoes illustrating scenes from the Old Testament. Most of his pictures are portraits of the Medici and others, more than twenty of these being found in the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries alone.

There are probably few collections in Europe which have not a picture of one of the Medici by him. His intimate friend, Vasari, gives him, as he deserves, a prominent place in his "Lives," for he was a poet as well, and a member of the Academy of

Florence, his verses having been published at Naples in 1723. There is much poetic feeling in one of his most brilliant pictures, now in the National Gallery of England, "Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time." His death occurred in 1572.

CHRISTOFANO ALLORI owes his celebrity to his picture of "Judith," which is, with the Madonnas of Raphael and the famous "Cenci," more frequently copied than any work in Italy.

IL ROSSO, or Giovanni Battista Fiorentino, went to France with Primaticcio, and was, with Niccolò dell' Abbate, one of the Fontainebleau School; his allegorical frescoes in that palace, set off by the ornamental compositions in stucco of Dell' Abbate, being his best title to fame.

ANDREA DEL MINGA, who is represented in Santa Croce by the "Orazione dell' Orto," has a good deal of Bronzino's style in the outline of his figures, but it is easy to see that one is reaching the end of a school. With regard to CRISTOFORO DELL' ALTISSIMO, his name is not classed among the masters, though he is represented both in the Uffizi and the Pitti Palace. He was a pupil of Pontormo, as may be guessed at once by his portrait of Clarissa Altoviti, which might have been painted by his master or by Bronzino. This lady was the sister of Niccolò Ridolfi, Archbishop of Florence and of Sabine and nephew of Leo X. Cristoforo was also employed by Cosimo I. to copy, at the residence of Bishop Paolo Giovio at

Como, the two hundred and twenty-four portraits which formed the collection of that learned prelate.

FRANCESCO ROSSI, known in art by the name of his patron, Cardinal Salviati, was born at Florence in 1510, and studied under Andrea del Sarto. He was an imitator of Michael Angelo and a friend of Vasari, one of his best-known works being a portrait of Aretino, which he painted at Venice, and sent as a present to Francis I. of France. He died in 1563, having spent a short time in France under Henri II., and then gone to Rome, where he executed several important works at Santa Maria del Popolo.

The last names of the Florentine School are Cigoli, Poccetti, Jacopo Empoli, and Carlo Dolci, the last named of whom, born in 1616, died at the close of the century, his masterpiece being a *Pietà*, which is in the museum at Madrid, and which is not lacking either in force or grace of expression. Poccetti's frescoes are very numerous in Florence. They come nearer to the superficial but graceful French School of the eighteenth century, though it may be said that Florence had no intermediate school in the seventeenth century, like Venice, which could boast of a Guardi, a Tiepolo, a Ricci, and a Longhi, or, like Naples, with its grand decorative painters.

Here my task must end, for though much might be written about the history of Florentine painting and sculpture, as well as about the architecture, the history, and the intellectual development of the Tuscan

people, the object of this book is to give a general idea of the part which Florence has played in the intellectual history of modern times.

The novel feature in this book is the chapter on "Illustrious Florentines," in which I have given a brief sketch of the life and idiosyncrasies of those who achieved distinction in Florence in philosophy, politics, literature, and science, giving special prominence to those gifted humanists who shed such lustre upon the Tuscan name in the fifteenth century.

There must always be faults in a book of this kind, and they are apparent enough to the author, but upon the whole I hope that I may have succeeded in conveying an adequate idea of the superiority of Florence over the other cities of Italy, and of imparting to my readers something of the enthusiasm, the respectful admiration, and the profound tenderness which I feel for Italy, "the divine mother of us all," and for that City of Flowers towards which all faces turn when they want to study the origin of the Renaissance of literature and art in the modern world.



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